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The Rule of the
CHĀLUKYA-CHŌLAS
in Āndhradēśa

M. Krishna Kumari

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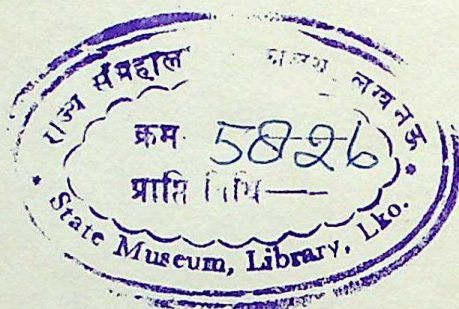
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1985

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Contents

Foreword

In this book, the author has made an attempt to present an account of the Chālukya-Chōḷas based on the existing epigraphical and literary sources. It was a transitional period in Āndhradēśa between the rule of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Kākatīyas. The author has successfully presented the political history of the period, highlighting every important detail as can be gleaned through the stone and copper plate grants. The neglected and ignored Telugu stone inscriptions of the later Chālukya-Chōḷas as well as the evidence of the Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka Chōḷa have been dealt with in greater and fuller detail. The author has made an assessment of the administration, system of taxation, trade guilds, agricultural system, socio-religious activities, marriage customs, position of women in the society, literary activity and the educational institutions in Andhra utilising the epigraphical and literary sources. This work fills a gap of roughly two centuries in the Medieval Andhra History and thus it is a significant contribution. I congratulate the author for this admirable and comprehensive account of the history of the Chālukya-Chōḷas.

Waltair

15-12-1984.

PROF. E. SURYANARAYANA MURTY

Preface

The fusion of the two crowns of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas by Kulōttunga I, an Eastern Chālukyan prince, initiates the rule of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Āndhradēśa. It was the first amalgamated dynasty in the annals of Andhra. It was also for the first time in the history of South India that a person inherited an empire through his mother. Simultaneously, several dynasties rose in Āndhradēśa, as major and minor autonomous powers, because of the distant and weak suzerain power.

The Chālukya-Chōlas succeeded the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi in Āndhradēśa and stood as a link between the Eastern Chālukyas on the one hand and the Kākatiyas on the other. Their rule was effective in the Andhra region for a century and lingered on for another century covering an important transitional period leading to the famous Kākatiya period.

The rule of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Āndhradēśa has not received the attention it deserves. So far, the chapter contributed by late Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma in *Andhra Samskriti*, Volume III in Telugu and Dr. V. Yasodadevi's thesis on *The History of Andhra Country* (Subsidiary Dynasties between 1000 A.D. and 1500 A.D.), and

History of *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī* by Dr. B.V. Krishna Rao are the works available which cover the political history of this period. The works of Prof. A. Vaidehi Krishnamoorthy, Prof. K. Sundaram and Dr. C. V. Ramachandra Rao deal with only individual aspects of the history of medieval Andhra, and thus they do not make a comprehensive study of a particular period. Further, the study of other historians of the medieval history of Andhra does not observe adequately the potent and deeper influences of the commercial, religious, literary conditions and activities as they are surveys of a period of at least half a millennium, covering various dynasties. To fill in this lacuna in the history of medieval Andhra, a dynastic period, which was an important and connecting link, is taken up to bring out an up-to-date account of the Chālukya-Chōlas.

The present work is almost the book form of my Ph. D. thesis for which the Andhra University awarded me the degree of Ph. D. in 1979. Subsequently, the work is completely revised in the light of the suggestions made by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Prof. A. L. Basham and Dr. N. Ramesan.

The book comprises 10 chapters. The first chapter is an introduction, projecting the significance of the Chālukya-Chōla period and its place as a whole in the history of medieval Andhra. It also consists of a survey of sources. Chapter-II deals with the political situation in Andhra prior to the Chālukya-Chōla rule. It deals with one of the several major problems in the study of the South Indian History, i.e., the relations between Kulōttunga I and his uncle Vijayāditya VII, whether they were on friendly terms or not. It also deals with another crucial and connected task—what did Kulōttunga I do in the interval between his father's death and the circumstances in which he ascended the Chōla throne. Chapter-III deals with the reign and political career of Kulōttunga I. In this chapter, a general description is given about the several *Māṇḍalikas* in Āndhradēśa and their areas of rule. It also affords an account of the foreign invasions and the combined efforts of the *māṇḍalikas* in repulsing them.

Chapter IV deals with the rule of the successors of Kulōttunga I upto the end of the reign of Rājarāja II in 1173 A.D. when the effective authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas came to an end. It traces the events that enabled the Veīanāti Chōḍas to assume virtually an independent role, obtaining supremacy and recognition as Viceroys of their suzerain. The reasons for the gradual degradation of the suzerain authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Andhra into a nominal one are also examined.

Chapter V deals with the last vestiges of the Chālukya-Chōla rule in the Andhra region. Because of the troubles created by the Pāṇḍyas and the rising Hoysalas, the Chālukya-Chōla rulers were unable to maintain effective hold in Andhra in that period. A new interpretation that Rājādhirāja II might have migrated to Āndhradeśa and settled there, is proposed in the light of the Drākṣārāmā and Simhāchalam records.

In Chapters-VI, VII, VIII and IX is given an account of the administration, economy, the social system and the religious conditions that prevailed in that period. Chapter-X deals with the cultural conditions in which there was great development in the systems of education, *Dēśi* music and folk dances along with the classical styles. It traces briefly the various art and architectural influences from the neighbouring regions on the various temples that were constructed and rennovated during the period under study.

I express my thanks to the University authorities for giving me permission to publish the thesis. I am grateful to Prof. E. Suryanarayana Murti and Dr. C. Somasundara Rao, who scrutinised my work at every stage offering valuable suggestions. I thank my other colleagues who gave all encouragement and the Steno-typist, Sri M. Appa Rao, who neatly typed my work in record time.

M. KRISHNA KUMARI

Abbreviations

A.P.A.R.E.	Andhra Pradesh Annual Report on Epigraphy.
A.R.E.	Annual Report on Epigraphy.
Das. Kum. Ch.	Daśakumāra Charitramu.
D.R.S.I.	Development of Religion in South India.
Ep. And.	Epigraphia Andhrica.
Ep. Carn.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
E.H.D.	Early History of Deccan.
H.A.S.	Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
Ins. Mad. Pres.	Inscriptions of Madras Presidency.
I.P.S.	Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State.
J.A.H. & C.	Journal of Andhra History and Culture.
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.

J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.E.S.H.O.	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History.
Key. Bahu. Ch.	Kēyūrabāhu Charitramu.
Kum. Sambh.	Kumārasambhavam.
Pal. Vir. Ch.	Palnāṭi Vira Charitra.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.

Introduction

The history of Andhra is hoary and very long, comprising various transitional periods marked with myriad vicissitudes. Since the dawn of its historic period, it underwent various mutations, by adaptation and assimilation of several others, as and when it was necessary. The Chālukya-Chōḷa period pertains to one of such transitional periods of the early medieval Andhra. It links two great creative and flourishing periods, politically and culturally, namely, the Eastern Chālukyan and the Kākatīya periods.

The Eastern Chālukyas had matrimonial alliances with the Chōḷas; and, as the Chōḷa line became defunct, the Eastern Chālukyan prince, Rājendra Chōḍa, born of the Chōḷa alliance became the ruler of both the Chōḷa and the Eastern Chālukyan territories. In the year 1070 A.D. he assumed the Chōḷa throne at the Chōḷa imperial metropolis Gangaikonda Chōḷapuram with the title, Kulōttunga I. The historians referred to him as the founder of a new dynasty dubbing it as

the Chālukya-Chōla dynasty, and referred to his successors as the Chālukya-Chōlas.

In this work, an attempt is made to give a connected account of the rule of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Āndhradēśa from the beginning of the reign-period of Kulōttunga I to Rājādhirāja IV. The materials to reconstruct this part of history are very few, incomplete and disconnected. The most handy source for the study of this period is the plethora of inscriptions that are found in all the regions in Āndhradēśa. In South India, during the last fifty years, remarkable progress has been effected in Epigraphy as Hultzsch, Venkayya, Krishnasastri, N. Venkataramanayya, M.S. Sarma, and B.V. Krishna Rao have brought out scholarly editions on many of the inscriptions. But the inscriptions of Andhra alone do not tell the whole tale. These have to be supplemented by a study of inscriptions of other regions, like Tamilnad, Karnataka and Orissa.

The epigraphs refer to the coins of the period as *māḍa*, *gadya*, *chinnam*, *rūka*, etc. Some of them were named after the rulers—both the Chālukya-Chōla suzerains and the *māṇḍalikas*. Though the study of numismatics offers a valuable aid in reconstructing the dynastic histories in ancient and medieval periods, its help is very meagre for the present study, because of the paucity of the material.

The materials that help in the reconstruction of the history of this period can be broadly categorised as (1) inscriptions (both stone and copper plate), (2) literature, (3) tradition, and (4) monuments. All these give information about the rule of the Chālukya-Chōlas. The inscriptions offer genuine information about the period. Both the classes of inscriptions relate to the grants made by the rulers, their ministers, nobles and officials, and private individuals as well to brahmins, temples, and other religious institutions. Though the main purpose of the records is donative, they supply the historian valuable details of political and social history by mentioning the name of the ruler of the region with details of the date and

nature of the grant and the antecedents of the recipient. Thus, they afford an account of the political, social, economic and religious conditions. These records run to several hundreds; and it is mainly on their basis that it has become possible to reconstruct the history of the period. Compared with the Eastern Chālukyan period, the copper-plate records of this period are few in number; but the number of the lithic records greatly increased. As against the mobile copper plates, the immobile stone inscriptions can be relied upon to punctuate the several stages of the territorial expansion of the empire. The records offer valuable guidance to settle the chronological problems and present the social life of the period. It is of interest to know the different calendar-reckonings employed in the records of this period. The most usual instances are, the records in each one of which the Śaka date is given in the Sanskrit verse, which marks the beginning phrase of each record, followed by the numerical Śaka date embedded in the body of each record. When once the Śaka date is given, it is not difficult to calculate the exact equivalent in the Christian era. The other calendar-reckonings are the ones made in the regnal years of the kings. If the actual period of the king's reign is known from other records, it is not difficult to calculate the date of the inscription. The Tamil influence on the Andhra country can be seen in the manner in which some of the records of the time from Drākṣārāma temple quote the solar month, instead of the usual lunar month of the Telugu country, and also in the style in which the king's regnal year is mentioned in the year opposite to a year (Telugu-*edireṇḍu*: Tamil-*ediramaṇḍu*) instead of simple *sāṅkhyamāna* of the Telugu country. The quoting of the solar month was the practice followed in Tamilnad, and dating the record in the year opposite to a year was the custom prevailing in the Pāṇḍya country in the extreme south. Most of the records of this period are in Telugu, and a few in Sanskrit. The script used is the Telugu-Kannada script of 11th and 12th Century A.D. Moreover, the records from the Western Deccan and the Tamil country in Kannada and Tamil languages throw considerable light on the events in the Andhradesa, as there was intimate contact prevailing in those

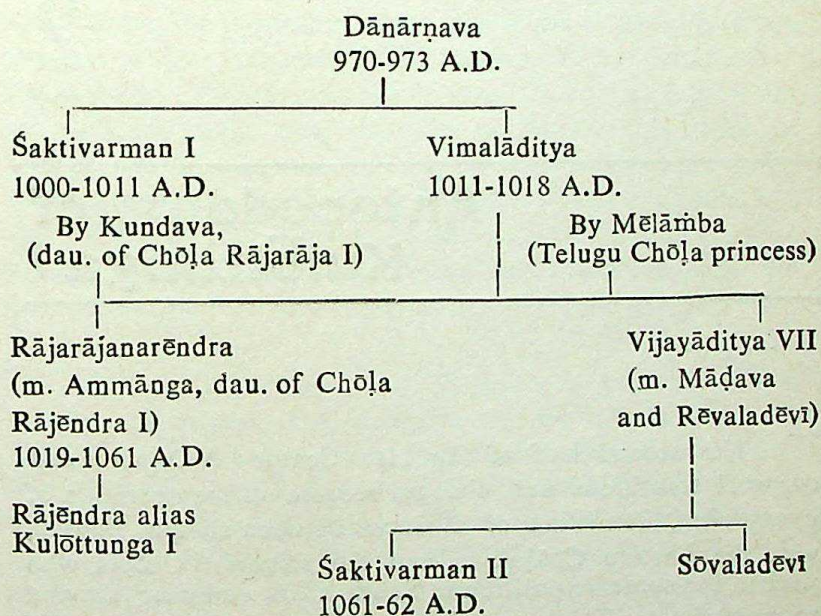
days among these three regions. By all these, several aspects of life of the period can well be studied.

The literary works supplement and support the epigraphic information. Several works in verse and prose were written in Tamil and Telugu during the period and are helpful in getting some details about the political, social, and economic life of the time. Of the many, the work which can be dated with much accuracy is the *Kaḷiṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār. It is a war-poem of the conventional *paraṇi* type, which has for its subject-matter the conquest of the Kaḷiṅga country by Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān, the celebrated general of Kulōttunga I. In spite of all its supernatural elements and the absurd hyperboles, Jayangoṇḍār's *Kaḷiṅgattupparaṇi* is valuable for the historian, as it provides the details of the Kaḷiṅga campaigns during the time of Kulōttunga I. In reconstructing the political history of this period, this *paraṇi* is of immense help to the historian. Similarly, the Telugu work *Kēyūra-bāhucharitra* written by Manchana, though not a war poem, gives a good account of the political history of the period. The other literary works composed during this period are Nanne Chōḍa's *Kumārasaṁbhavam*, Kētana's *Daśakumāra-charitraṁ* and *Vijñānēśvarīyam*, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita's *Śivataṭvasāram*, Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhyu Charitra* and *Basava Purāṇam*. By these works, the historian can get an inkling of the various aspects of history such as society, culture, and religion. The best examples for the tradition preserved in literature of the period under survey are the ballads, *Palnāṭivīra Charitra* and the *Tsandavolu Kaiḷaiyat*. Thus all the works composed in the period throw considerable light on the social, economic, religious, and cultural conditions of the time.

Of the monuments of the period, temples alone have survived upto the present day. The study of the architectural plans of these temples reveals that they have served as the centres of not only religion but also education and art. Their sculptured panels are pointers to the flourishing state of education and fine arts such as music and dance. The

renovation of the temples during the period indicates the intermingling of the various schools of art in South India.

*The Genealogy and Chronology of the Antecedents of
Kulōttunga Chōḷa I*



Antecedents of Kulōttunga I

The second half of the 11th Century A.D. witnessed eventual transitions and changes because of the operation of dynasticism, consisting of alliances between unequal powers, viz., the Eastern Chālukyas and the Imperial Chōlas, who were in the supreme position in South India and were striving to maintain it. This was to lead to the gradual integration of the Eastern-Chālukyan kingdom with the Chōla empire, which however passed on to the Eastern-Chālukyan prince, born of the Chōla princess, who assumed the Chōla style as Kulōttunga I. The Eastern-Chālukyan kingdom, before its subordination as a Chōla Viceroyalty, enjoyed a brief period of co-ordinate status because of the political exigencies. This factor signifies that, for the integrity of Chōla Imperialism, the Eastern Chālukyan territories constituted a vital base because of its strategic geopolitical position and political triangularity in the confrontation among the active powers in South India viz., the Imperial Chōlas, the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, and the Eastern Gangas of Kaḷiṅga.

From the beginning of the 11th Century A.D., the Chōlas of Tanjore and Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi came into conflict many times, that is, when the Chōlas tried to extend their power towards north of the river Tungabhadra, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi were also interested in extending their authority further to the south of that river; and thereby a conflict arose between the two great powers. Rājarāja I, the Great Chōla ruler, took advantage of the political situation in Vēṅgi in the last quarter of the 10th Century A.D. and thought of obtaining the friendship of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi to attain friendly power in the north. For this reason, he contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Eastern Chālukyan family, the offspring of which was Rājarāja Narēndra, the father of Kulōttunga I. Because of the several subsequent inter-marriages between the Eastern Chālukyas of the lunar race and the Chōlas of the solar race, the Eastern Chālukyas had become more plainly the Chōlas in conception than the Chālukyas.

Rājarāja was the son of Vimalāditya, born of a Chōla princess Kundavai, the daughter of the Chōla Emperor Rājarāja. Vimalāditya died probably in the year 1019 A.D. But the coronation of his son Rājarāja took place in 1022 A.D.¹ Vijayāditya VII was another son of Vimalāditya given birth to by Mēlama. Few of the Chōla records dated in the 10th regnal year of Rājēndra, the Chōla ruler (1016-1044 A.D.), state that the Chōla general compelled the king of Vēṅgi to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasimha II, and defeated "the Kaḷiṅgas, Telungas and Oḍḍas".² The delayed coronation of Rājarāja for 3 years after the death of Vimalāditya, and the Chōla invasion in the region of Vēṅgi in this period against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, suggest the intervention of the Chōlas of Tanjore and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi in the affairs of Vēṅgi. There is nothing in the records of the Eastern Chālukyas about the war of succession between the two brothers or about the delay in the coronation of Rājarāja.³ Even though it is true, one need not expect the records of the family to confirm all the details about the local disputes and troubles as they might detract one

from the glory of the reign of Rājarāja. Hence it may be surmised that the Chōla King Rājendra Chōla I helped his nephew Rājarāja I in celebrating his coronation in 1022 A.D. after defeating the Western Chālukyan ruler Jayasimha II, who might have helped Vijayāditya VII the step-brother of Rājarāja.

Rājarāja appears to have ruled the Vēṅgī region peacefully, for sometime upto 1030 A.D. The Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII,⁴ dated in his 2nd regnal year, state that he drove Rājarāja out of the kingdom and crowned himself king with the title Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya on the 27th June 1031 A.D. The circumstances under which he was able to oust his brother were not mentioned in the record. The Western Chālukyan inscription dated 1037 A.D.⁵ states that the Western Chālukyan general *Danḍanāyaka* Chavannārasa invaded Vēṅgī and captured the Vijayawada fort. The undated Kalidiṇḍi record⁶ of Rājarāja provides information in regard to the help offered by the Chōla army against his opponents. Rājarāja's records dated in his 16th regnal year,⁷ and Śaka 959,⁸ corresponding to 1037 A.D. reappear in Āndhradēśa, which indicates that he soon reasserted his position in the Eastern Deccan.

Even though the Chōlas were successful in the battle of Kalidiṇḍi and had enabled Rājarāja to ascend the Vēṅgī throne, Rājarāja was not out of troubles during the rest of his years of rule. During the reign of Rājarāja, two great battles were fought at Dannāḍa (1044 A.D.) and Koppam (1053-54 A.D.), in which the Chōlas of Tanjore and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi participated. The records of the Chōla king Rājadhirāja enumerate two important Chōla campaigns against the Western Chālukyan armies.⁹ In the battle of Dannāḍa (Dharanikota near Amaravati in the Guntur District), which took place in 1044-45 A.D., the Western Chālukyan forces, despite the leadership of capable generals as Vikramāditya, Vijayāditya Gaṇḍappayya, Gangādhara, Sangamayya and others, sustained a defeat. Then the successful Chōla forces marched to the region of Koḷlippākkai and set fire to the city.¹⁰ But from the epigraphs, it appears that the Koḷlippākkai was soon recovered

by the Western Chālukyas.¹¹ Much is not known about the second expedition of Rājādhirāja. A record of Rājādhirāja dated in his 33rd year states that he encamped at Dannāḍa, where he accepted the dedication of a Tamil *Paraṇi* poem.¹² Even though full details of the campaign of Rājādhirāja are not known, the presence of the Chōḷa king at Dannāḍa indicates that he invaded Vēṅgī. From Dannāḍa, he then proceeded to Raṭṭapāḍi. Dannāḍa was not on the route of the Chōḷa armies marching to the Raṭṭapāḍi country; but it is evident that the original target of his attack was not Raṭṭapāḍi but Vēṅgī which is far away in the east.¹³ The results of these wars were varied, and success was claimed by both the powers. But none of them could get complete success, and the claims by the Chōḷas and the Western Chālukyas of their success in Vēṅgī are limited. For this reason, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi could not place their own claimant Vijayāditya VII on the Vēṅgī throne; and Rājarāja also made a truce with the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi to avoid further troubles.¹⁴

The position of Vijayāditya VII is not clear after 1030 A.D. There is no other record of Vijayāditya VII, during the reign of Rājarāja Narēndra. Probably he was steadily kept out of the throne. Previously it had been considered that Vijayāditya VII, the step-brother of Rājarāja, was the same Vijayāditya the governor of Noḷambavāḍi.¹⁵ But this view is not acceptable, in the light of the evidence of Mallēśvaram inscription of Trailōkyamalla dated in the year Śaka 973 corresponding to 1051 A.D.¹⁶ The expressions *Kumāra* or *Nandana* (son), *Chālukyamāṇikya* (Ruby of the Chālukyas) and *Ayyana Singa* (a Lion or Champion of His Father), along with the fact that he made the grant in association with Mailāladēvī, a queen of Sōmēśvara I, indicate that he was a son of Sōmēśvara, perhaps born of that queen. Thereby it is evident that Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya of the Western Chālukyan inscriptions could be a fourth son of Sōmēśvara; and in any case he cannot be identified with the Eastern Chālukyan prince, Vijayāditya VII.

There are a few controversial theories in the assessment of the relations between Rājarāja and Vijayāditya VII.

Scholars like Dr. N. Venkataramanayya¹⁷ and Prof. K.A. Nilakantasastri¹⁸ hold that Vijayāditya VII is the same western Chālukyan subordinate of Nolambavāḍi, and that he forcibly seized the kingdom of Vēṅgi from his brother Rājarāja in his 12th regnal year and held it even after his death. In the view of Dr. G. S. Gai,¹⁹ Vijayāditya VII, the Eastern Chālukyan prince, is different from the governor of Nolambavāḍi. Dr. D. C. Sircar²⁰ opines that there existed peaceful relations between Rājarāja and Vijayāditya VII, on the basis of the following points.

1. Vijayāditya VII was not responsible for the delay in the coronation of Rājarāja. If he were responsible for it, he would not have reckoned the rule of Rājarāja from 1019 A.D., instead of 1022 A.D., in his own record.
2. The break in the rule of Rājarāja during 1030-31 A.D., indicated by the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII, is not mentioned in the subsequent Eastern Chālukyan records.
3. Vijayāditya VII received the kingdom as a gift after the death of Rājarāja in a peaceful manner.
4. The respectful mention of Vijayāditya VII as *pañchānana-parākrama* and *dēvōpama* in the records of the sons of Kulōttunga I indicates their peaceful relations.

Dr. N. Ramesan is also of the opinion that there existed peaceful relations between Rājarāja and Vijayāditya VII. He suggests that Vijayāditya VII did not usurp the Vēṅgi throne in the 12th year of Rājarāja, that it was effected by an unknown brother of Vimalāditya, and that it has nothing to do with Vijayāditya VII.²¹

In the light of these contradicting theories, it may be surmised that there did not exist either completely peaceful or

hostile relations between Rājarāja and Vijayāditya VII. As it has been pointed out earlier, Vijayāditya VII might have been responsible for the delay in the coronation of Rājarāja as the Chōḷa records clearly state that they compelled the escape of the king of Vēṅgi. As Rājarāja was the nephew of the Chōḷa ruler Rājendra, he could not have been the king that compelled the Chōḷa armies to flee. Even though the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII alone indicate a break in the rule of Rājarāja after his 12th regnal year, their evidence can hardly be denied, as they were dated in the 2nd regnal year of Vijayāditya VII. This definitely indicates the inimical act of Vijayāditya VII against his brother Rājarāja, even though it was a short-lived success. If Vijayāditya VII was friendly and loyal to his brother Rājarāja, the great battles such as Kalidiṇḍi and Dannāḍa would not have been fought between the Chōḷa and the Western Chāḷukyan armies in the interest of the Eastern Chāḷukyan rulers. Moreover, if Vijayāditya VII was on friendly terms with Rājarāja and the kingdom of Vēṅgi went to him in a peaceful manner, he could have placed Rājendra the rightful heir, on the throne instead of his son Śaktivarman II. There is no substantial evidence to confirm that the brother of Vimalāditya was the usurper in the 12th regnal year of Rājarāja, and Vijayāditya VII had nothing to do with that. None of the Eastern Chāḷukyan epigraphs mentions about this brother of Vimalāditya. Moreover, if the kingdom of Vēṅgi passed peacefully, after the death of Rājarāja, to Vijayāditya VII, why should there be any battle in which the son of Vijayāditya VII, Śaktivarman II, lost his life? As it has been stated earlier, neither the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi nor the Chōḷas of Tanjore were completely successful in the battles which had been waged in Vēṅgi.

The Eastern Chāḷukyan copper-plate grants refer to the rule of Rājarāja for 41 years. This is also strengthened by the Telugu lithic records in Āndhradeśa.²² The Ryali and the Telugu Academy plates of Vijayāditya VII and Śaktivarman II respectively state that, after the 41 years of rule of Rājarāja, Vijayāditya VII placed his son on the throne of Vēṅgi out of love, and that after Śaktivarman's death at the end of one year

in a battle, Vijayāditya VII, who lost all interest in life, was persuaded with difficulty to accept the office of kingship like Arjuna after the death of Abimanyu.²³ By this it is evident that Śaktivarman II lost his life in a battle after his rule of one year during 1062-63 A.D. The details of the battle in which the beloved son of Vijayāditya VII was killed should be considered here.

The Chōla inscriptions state that the immediate successors of Rājendra Chōla (1012-1044 A.D.), i.e., Rājādhirāja I (1018-1054 A.D.), and Rājendradēva (1052-1063 A.D.) neglected their hereditary interest in the Vēṅgī kingdom. The Tirumukkūdal inscription and the Kanyākumārī inscription of Virarājendra clearly refer to the neglected patrimony of the Chōlas. This attitude of the Chōlas in the affairs of Vēṅgī seems to have changed at the time of Virarājendra Chōla. The records of Virarājendra claim a decisive victory over the Western Chālukyas at Kūḍaliśangamam, which is perhaps the modern Kudali, at the junction of the Tunga and the Bhadra rivers in Mysore State. A detailed description of the battle of Kūḍaliśangamam is given in Virarājendra's inscriptions dated in his second regnal year, i.e., 1063-64 A.D.²⁴ As the records of Virarājendra show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle-field of Kūḍaliśangamam, the date of the battle may be placed before his accession to the throne in 1062-63 A.D. The Chōlas won a glorious victory in the battle. Probably in this Chōla invasion, Śaktivarman II might have lost his life; and the Chōlas failed to dislodge the authority of Vijayāditya VII in Vēṅgī. This might be owing to the death of Rājendra II about this time. For this reason, Virarājendra hastily retreated to celebrate his coronation.

Even though it has been stated in the Ryali plates²⁵ that Vijayāditya VII began to rule only after the death of his son, several of his records indicate that he commenced to rule even earlier, i.e. from 1060-61 A.D. In regard to the position of Rājendra, son of Rājarāja, it is not clear from the epigraphs. None of the records of Vijayāditya VII mentions him. The

only source of information about the early career of Rājendra is the Tamil literary work *Kaḷiṅgattupparaṇi*. According to it, Rājendra was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court.²⁶

During the reign of Vijayāditya VII, Virarājendra once again marched against Vēṅgī. The Maṇimangalam²⁷ and the Tirumukkūḍal²⁸ records of Virarājendra, dated in his 5th and 6th regnal years (1068 and 1069 A.D.) state the progress of the Chōḷa campaign against the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi. According to these records, Virarājendra took a vow not to return until he fulfilled word that he formerly uttered, viz., that he would destroy the state of the Chāḷukyan (lordship) and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops and recover Vēṅgī country and that which the Chāḷukya had taken; and he sent (the following) word to be announced: "Hear this and if you have (any) power, come and protect yourself". This statement of the Tirumukkūḍal inscription indicates one important fact, that the Vēṅgī region was under the hold of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi. But the subordinate position of Vēṅgī to the Western Chāḷukyan authority is not indicated in any of the records of Vijayāditya VII. Thereby it can be assumed that Vijayāditya VII was ruling over Vēṅgī independently with the staunch support of the Western Chāḷukyan armies. The Tirumukkūḍal record, dated in the 6th regnal year of Virarājendra corresponding to 1069 A.D., further describes the advance of the Chōḷa army close to the beautiful city of Vijayawada, which caused the armies of the enemies to drink the water of the Gōdāvarī. In a decisive battle on the banks of the river Krishna, Virarājendra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Chāḷukyan forces commanded by Jananātha and Rājamayan. After this, the Chōḷas crossed the river Gōdāvarī, marched across Kaḷiṅgam upto Mahendra mountain and beyond Chakrakōṭṭam (or Chakrakūṭam), and Virarājendra bestowed Vēṅgī on Vijayāditya whose broad hands held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus feet.²⁹

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In this connection, the evidence of the Eastern Ganga records of Anantavarman Chōḍa Gangadēva must be considered. In the Kornī plates³⁰ of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga dated 1113 A.D. and in the Vizagapatam plates³¹ dated 1118 A.D., the marriage of Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman with the Chōḷa princess Rājasundarī after a victory over the Chōḷas has been referred to. The records of Anantavarman state that Rājasundarī was the queen-consort of Rājarāja and that their son was Anantavarman Chōḍaganga. The record of Rājarāja does not refer to any conflict between the Chōḷas and Gangas. The Dīrghasi³² inscription of Banapatidēva, the minister of Rājarāja, refers to such a conflict between the Chōḷas and the Gangas. The records of Virarājendra Chōḷa dated in his 5th and 6th regnal years (1068 and 1069 A.D.) refer to the Chōḷa attack of Kaḷiṅga and Chakrakōṭṭam region.³³ The Kornī plates state that Rājarāja first became the lord of the Goddess of victory in the Tamil battle. Later, he married the resplendent Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Chōḷa king. When Vijayāditya was beginning to grow old and left (the country of) Vēṅgī, as if he were a Sun leaving the sky and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḍas, Rājarāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region. Vijayāditya mentioned in this record is no other than Vijayāditya VII, the Eastern Chālukyan king.

It may be assumed reasonably, from the above account, that the Chōḷa king Virarājendra drove Vijayāditya VII from Vēṅgī, after the battle of Vijayawada, and compelled him to seek help from the Eastern Gangas. Probably, on this occasion, the Eastern Ganga ruler Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman lent his support to Vijayāditya VII, and helped him prosperity. After Virarājendra, till the time of the expedition of Kulōttunga to Kaḷiṅga, there was no other Chōḷa fight with the Gangas. This could be the only battle in which Rājarāja could have faced the Chōḷa forces as recorded by Banapati and Anantavarman Chōḍaganga. But this battle appears to have been fought in circa 1067-1068 A.D., i.e., two or three years before Rājarāja's coronation and in the last years of the rule of

Vajrahasta III. Possibly as a *yuvarāja*, Rājarāja might have participated in this battle.

Rājēndra Chōla, the Eastern Chālukyan prince, who was brought up in the Chōla dominions after the death of his father, seemed to have accompanied his maternal uncle Virarājēndra in his campaign in the north. For, the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga I,³⁴ dated in his 2nd regnal year corresponding to 1072 A.D., state that with the strength of his arms and his sword he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamsi king, Dhārāvarsha of Chakrakūṭam, and gently raised the earth, resembling the lotus awaiting the rise of the Sun for blooming, as Viṣṇu raised the earth from the ocean in his boar-incarnation and seated her to her great pleasure in the shade of his parasol, when he was a heir-apparent. This may be corroborated by the records of Virarājēndra which state that, in the last years of his rule, Virarājēndra marched upto Chakrakūṭam. By this, it may be assumed that probably Kulōttunga I followed Virarājēndra in his expedition to the north. The reasons for the Chōla conquest of Chakrakūṭam are not clearly known. In the literary work *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita*, Bilhana states that Veṅgī and Chakrakōṭṭam were conquered by Vikramāditya VI during the life-time of his father, Sōmēśvara I. Possibly with the intention of reconquering these regions, which were previously held by them, the Chōlas marched into Chakrakūṭam region. The Chōla inscriptions³⁵ distinctly state that the Chālukya forces, which met at Chakrakūṭam, were defeated by Virarājēndra and Kulōttunga I.

Even though success was claimed by Virarājēndra, in the battles of Bezawada, Kaḷiṅga and Chakrakūṭam, in his records, it presented only one side of the picture as they did not even allude remotely to the reverses, which he suffered in the field. Probably after the battle of Chakrakūṭam, Virarājēndra gave his daughter to Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukyan prince, as a means of pacifying the situation. Perhaps it is the same far-sightedness of

Virarājendra which was reflected in Kaḷiṅga. He also bestowed Vēṅgī on Vijayāditya VII, thus satisfying his son-in-law Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma, and then returned to his capital Gangaikōṇḍa-Śōlapuram.

The bestowal of Vēṅgī on Vijayāditya VII by Virarājendra, needs explanation. There is no evidence to state that Virarājendra was not in good terms with Rājendra. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that Rājendra accompanied Virarājendra in his expedition to the north. Hence it may be suggested that only out of political necessity Virarājendra had to bestow Vijayāditya VII instead of Rājendra, the rightful heir to the Vēṅgī throne. Meanwhile, soon after the departure of Virarājendra from Vēṅgī, the political situation once again altered. Rājendra, after his successful march into the Chakrakūṭam region, came to Vēṅgī, and established himself on the throne of Vēṅgī. Even though this information is not clearly stated in the epigraphs, it may be construed so by the study of the records of Vijayāditya VII of this period and the records of Kulōttunga I and his sons. A record of Vijayāditya VII shows that he was ruling the country until 1068 A.D.³⁸ But after this year, there are no records of his until his 12th regnal year, which clearly shows a break in the rule of Vijayāditya VII.

The Teki, Chellūru, Pithapuram, and Mallavaram plates of the sons of Kulōttunga I clearly state that Kulōttunga I, being desirous of the Chōḷa kingdom, conferred the country of Vēṅgī on his paternal uncle Vijayāditya VII. This shows that Kulōttunga I at first ascended the throne of Vēṅgī sometime after the death of his father, and placed Vijayāditya VII on the throne of Vēṅgī, and went to the south preferring the Chōḷa kingdom.

On the basis of a record from Guḍimūla in the West Godavari district, dated in Śaka 1017 (=1095-96 A.D.) in the 35th year of *Sarvaḷōkāśraya* Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja, the Government Epigraphist put forward the view that Kulōttunga I succeeded his father Rājarāja in 1060-61 A.D., from which

date he is said to have reckoned his regnal years.³⁷ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya contradicted this view, on the basis of the rule of Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII from the year 1060-61 A. D., by suggesting that *Sarvalōkāśraya* Vishṇuvardhana with the initial date in Ś. 982 (1060 A.D.) was not Kulōttunga I and that it must be a member of one of the collateral branches of the Eastern Chāḷukya family.³⁸ With these arguments the theory of the Government Epigraphist that Kulōttunga I counted his regnal years from 1050-61 A.D. and that Kulōttunga I was at first the ruler of Vēṅgi and that he later ascended the Chōḷa throne was repudiated. But there is evidence to show that Kulōttunga I commenced his rule even before 1070 A.D. A scrutiny of the records at Drāksārāma reveals the existence of the rule of Kulōttunga I in Vēṅgi before 1070 A.D. In this connection, the following inscriptions of Kulōttunga I must be taken into consideration :

Reference	Date		Date of Accession	Name of the King
	Regnal year	Śaka year		
S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1009	23	Ś 1004	Ś 991	Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja
„ No. 1015	15	Ś 1006	Ś 991	Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja, Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva
„ No. 1016	18	Ś 1009	Ś 991	Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja
„ No. 1248	43	Ś 1034	Ś 991	Saptama Vishṇuvardhana Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva
„ No. 1282	45	Ś 1036	Ś 991	Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja
„ No. 1324	43	Ś 1034	Ś 991	Saptamō Vishṇuvardhana Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva

All these records point to the beginning of the rule of Kulōttunga I in 1069 A. D. The Chōla king Vīrarājendra (1062-63—1070 A.D.) died early in 1070 A.D., the eighth year of his reign. With this evidence, it may be postulated that Rājendra first became the ruler of Vēngī and that Vēngī was partitioned between Vijayāditya VII and Rājendra for some time. Probably Kulōttunga I was more interested in getting the Imperial Chōla throne of a vast territory. Hence he conferred Vēngī on his paternal uncle, and left Vēngī to ascend the Chōla throne after the death of Vīrarājendra. The account of Bilhana which refers to Kulōttunga as the lord of Vēngī, at the time of his accession to the Chōla throne in 1070 A.D., also supports this view.

Thus in the light of the circumstances stated above, it was not possible to maintain the theory advocating cordial relations between Vijayāditya VII and Rājendra up to the year 1069 A.D. These bitter relations between Rājendra and Vijayāditya VII seemed to have changed for good only after 1070 A.D., with Kulōttunga I assuming the Chōla throne, and his absence in the Eastern Chālukyan kingdom.

Dr. D.C. Sircar and Dr. N. Ramesan are of the view that there existed peaceful relations between Vijayāditya VII and Kulōttunga I. Dr. D.C. Sircar states that Vijayāditya VII was friendly to Vīrarājendra, and he was compelled to become subordinate ally of Vikramāditya VI, and thereby Vīrarājendra defeated him and his allies, and as a consequence Vijayāditya sought the help from the Ganga king of Kaṭiṅga. This anti-Chōla activity of Vijayāditya was forgiven by Vīrarājendra who bestowed Vēngī on him. But it is hardly justifiable that Vijayāditya VII was previously an ally of Vīrarājendra and later was forced to become an ally of Vikramāditya VI. There is no evidence to confirm this either from the epigraphs or from the literary works. If Vīrarājendra was favourably disposed towards Vijayāditya VII and if the Chōla invasion in 1067-68 A.D. was only intended to punish Vijayāditya VII for his anti-Chōla activity and to expel the Western Chālukyan armies from Vēngī, Vijayāditya VII could not have been.

subjected to such an extremity of punishment as described in the Kornī plates of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga. As the Eastern Ganga copper-plate records state that Vijayāditya VII left Vēṅgī when he was beginning to grow old, and that he was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḍas, it may be assumed that the rescue of Vijayāditya VII by Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma could have been only against the Chōḷas and not against any external aggression of the Haihaya invasion.³⁹ By this it is evident that it was because of the Chōḷa invasion in 1067-68 A.D. But there was every possibility of maintaining peaceful relations between them after 1070 A.D. As the Imperial Chōḷa line failed, Kulōttunga I, who had claims to the Chōḷa throne, had to go there in the larger interests of himself and that of his dynasty. Further, he could not make substitute arrangements in the Eastern Chāḷukyan territories to replace his recalcitrant uncle Vijayāditya VII. Hence, there was a necessity of pacification of his uncle and of utilising him as an instrument for maintaining the Eastern Chāḷukyan territories. This could only be done by conferring a coordinate status on him. This dynastic sentiment and political expediency impelled Kulōttunga I to adopt this measure which worked well until the demise of Vijayāditya VII.

As the relations between Vijayāditya VII and Rājendra had changed from hostility to reconciliation in the later phase of the rule of Vijayāditya VII, Kulōttunga I spoke high of his paternal uncle in respectful terms as *pañchānana parākramaḥ* (a very lion Śiva in valour) and *dēvōpama* (like a God) in the records of his sons.

Another crucial problem concerning the relations between Vijayāditya VII and Kulōttunga I was the state of affairs in the Chōḷa kingdom at the time of the accession of Kulōttunga I. The latest regnal year mentioned in the records of Virarājendra Chōḷa was the 8th regnal year by which the end of his rule might be placed in the year 1070 A.D. It appears from the Chōḷa inscriptions that Virarājendra was succeeded by his son Parakēsari Adhirājendra who reigned for

a few weeks. There are two records of Adhirājendra dated in his 2nd⁴⁰ and 3rd⁴¹ regnal years. But the accession of Kulōttunga I in 1070 A.D. is attested by several inscriptions. Hence Adhirājendra must be *yuvārāja* of Virarājendra in 1067-68 A.D.

According to Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita*⁴² and *Vikramaśōlan-ūla*,⁴³ Virarājendra was succeeded by another king before Kulōttunga I came to the throne. Bilhana states that there was anarchy in the Chōla country after the death of Virarājendra Chōla, and that Vikramāditya VI marched on Kāñchi to help his brother-in-law Adhirājendra. Vikramāditya VI was successful in suppressing the wicked people (*duṣṭavarga*) and placing the Chōla prince on the throne. But after Vikramāditya's return from the Chōla kingdom, Adhirājendra was put to death in a fresh rebellion, and Rajiga, the lord of Vēngī, captured the throne.⁴⁴ But the Tamil work *Kaḷṅgattupparaṇi* states that there was anarchy in the Chōla dominions prior to the accession of Kulōttunga I, but does not allude either to the intervention of Vikramāditya VI or to the disposition of his brother-in-law.⁴⁵ Probably this omission is owing to the intention of the poet to avoid mentioning of any circumstances that discredit the glory of the Chōla family.

The only copper-plate record that refers to the state of anarchy in the Chōla country, prior to the accession of Kulōttunga I, is the Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka. It states that Kulōttunga I, after bestowing the kingdom of Vēngī on Vijayāditya VII, went to the Chōla kingdom where the power of his uncle was on the decline owing to the rebellion caused by the Pāṇdyas, the Pallavas, and the jungle tribes, and that he took to a career of valour with the help of his dagger alone and accepted the Chōla kingdom adorned by the river Cauvery, just as he accepted the hand of his uncle's daughter. This shows that the Chōla power was at stake owing to the rebellion of the Pallavas, the Pāṇdyas, and the jungle tribes. The Tamil records of Kulōttunga I, dated in his 2nd, 5th, 14th and 15th regnal years, state that he defeated the king of Kuntala, that he crowned himself as king of the Chōla country

and that he decapitated an unnamed Pāṇḍyan king.⁴⁶ These records invariably suggest that before Kulōttunga's arrival in the South the Chōḷa country had lapsed into a state of anarchy and lost its ruler. There is one view that Kulōttunga killed a large number of Chōḷa princes to clear his way before ascending the Chōḷa throne.⁴⁷ The omission of the name of Adhirājendra, the son of Virarājendra, in the records of Kulōttunga as well as in the literary work *Kaḷiṅgattupparaṇi* composed by his court-poet Jayangoṇḍār, indicates that Kulōttunga was perhaps responsible for the end of Adhirājendra while the Chōḷa country was beset with rebellions by the Pāṇḍyas, the Pallavas, and the jungle tribes. Knowing fully well the necessity of his presence in the Chōḷa dominions, Kulōttunga I left Vēṅgī after settling the affairs with Vijayāditya VII. Because of the several inter-marriages, Kulōttunga I had better claims for the Chōḷa throne than the claims of anyone else. This made him aspire for the Chōḷa empire.

The restoration of Vijayāditya VII appears to have taken place before 1072 A.D. Vijayāditya's records dated in his 12th and 13th regnal years show that he was again ruling in Vēṅgī.⁴⁸ Further the absence of the records of Kulōttunga I in Āndhradeśa until the year 1076 A.D. indicates that Vijayāditya VII was ruling in Vēṅgī upto that period.

Some scholars have tried to connect the internal rebellions in the Chōḷa kingdom, that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Chōḷas, with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples, as it is noted in the Vaiṣṇava hagiology.⁴⁹ But this theory appears to be wrong in the light of the evidence of the Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka. In this copper-plate grant, it is clearly mentioned that Kulōttunga went to Hastigrāma in Kāñchīpuram and worshipped lord Hari there, and that he got his son as a boon given by the Lord.⁵⁰ Hence, it may be inferred that Kulōttunga I could not have indulged in any persecution of Rāmānuja and the Vaiṣṇavites.

From what is stated above, it is evident that Rājarāja Narēndra was put to troubles by his step-brother Vijayāditya VII during his reign. But because of the limited success of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi in the Kalidiṇḍi battle Vijayāditya VII, who usurped the Vēṅgī throne in 1030-31 A.D., could not maintain his authority for a long time. Rājarāja who was ousted by his brother from Vēṅgī, again reasserted his position in 1035 or 1037 A.D. The career of Vijayāditya VII, after his short usurpation until the death of Rājarāja, is not clearly known. On the death of Rājarāja in 1060-61 A.D. Vijayāditya VII took Vēṅgī and placed on the throne his own son Śaktivarman II. But Śaktivarman II died in a battle after a rule of one year. Hence Vijayāditya VII took the reins of the government after Śaktivarman II. The placing of Śaktivarman II on the Vēṅgī throne, as well as the rule of Vijayāditya VII in Vēṅgī from 1060-61 A.D., was against the interests of Rājēndra—the son of Rājarāja and the rightful claimant of the Chālukya throne. Probably to safeguard the interests of Rājēndra, who was closely related to the Chōla family, a battle was waged by the Chōlas in which Śaktivarman II lost his life. But because of their limited success in the battle, the Chōlas were unable to dethrone Vijayāditya VII and place Rājēndra on the throne of Vēṅgī. Perhaps to fulfil this, Virarājēndra marched against Vēṅgī in 1067-68 A.D. In the first phase of the campaign, Virarājēndra was successful over Vijayāditya VII; but as Vijayāditya VII gained support from the Eastern Gangas, Virarājēndra had to reconcile with Vijayāditya VII relinquishing the Vēṅgī kingdom. Rājēndra, who accompanied Virarājēndra in his campaign, attained success over Chakrakōṭṭam region, and seemed to have occupied parts of the Vēṅgī kingdom and became the ruler of Vēṅgī.

When the opportunity arose with the death of Virarājēndra and the accession of his weak successor Adhirājēndra in the Chōla country Rājēndra at once advanced to the Chōla country as he had better claims, than the claims of anyone else. As the ruler of Vēṅgī, with the military strength of Vēṅgī, he was able to put down the anarchy that

prevailed in the Chōḷa country by defeating the Pāṇḍyas, the Pallavas, and the jungle tribes. The non-availability of the evidence from the Chōḷa epigraphs and the Tamil work composed during the reign of Kulōttunga Chōḷa, about the accession of Adhirājendra to the Chōḷa throne after Virarājendra, indicate that Kulōttunga I was responsible for the end of Adhirājendra. Thus a new dynasty came into existence in the Chōḷa country through the maternal descent.

REFERENCES

1. Kōrumelli Plates, *Ind., Ant.*, Vol- XIV, Line 75, p. 53.
2. *A.R.E.*, 1917, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751, 752.
3. On the basis of the omission of the details in the Eastern Chājukyan records about this period, i.e., 1019-1022 A.D., Dr. D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that it is hardly justifiable to place Vijayāditya VII's hostility to his brother Rājarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 261).
4. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 284-287 (Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya).
Tam Rājarāja—nripatiṁ nirdhātya bhuvah prasahya Vijayādityah
Vimalāditya—tanujasya dvaimāturō=grahid=yō rājyam
Śrīmān Śākē sam-aughē drig-ishu-nidhi-mitē karkaṭē Karkaṣāmśau
śuddh-ātmā-śuddha-pañchamy=Aditisuta-dinē sūrya-bhē saurya-Śālī
kanyā-lagnē=tidhanvā Śaśikula-tilakō Rājamārtāṇḍa-sūnur=
Vēngī-sāmrajya-paṭṭam sma vahati Vijayāditya-bhūpaḥ pratāpī
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 77.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57-71; According to this record, the Chōḷa generals Rājarāja Brahmamahārāja and two other officers Uttama Chōḷa Milandaiyan and Uttama Chōḷa Chōḷakōn laid down their lives in the battle of Kalidiṇḍi in whose memory Rājarāja built memorial temples dedicated to each of them.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 82.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 7.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 56.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 827.
11. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 323; A record of the Governor of Banavāsi and Santalige under Sōmēśvara I, dated 1046 A.D., P.V. Parabrahmasastri, *Select Epigraphs of Andhra Pradesh*, No. 3, p. 5. The record belongs to the reign of Sōmēśvara I and refers to his feudatory Mahāmaṇḍlēśvara Kommanayya as administering Kollipāka—7000.

12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 1048.
13. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 230.
14. Nandampūṇḍi grant of Rājarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 43). A record from Drāksārāma (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1010) dated in 1055 A.D. registering the gift made by Kupama, the daughter of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, minister of Western Chālukyan king. Sōmēśvara I.
15. This theory is mainly based on the identical nature of the official names employed by these two in their records. In the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII. (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 288), he is referred to as *Mahārāja, Rājādhirāja* and *Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Srī Vijayādityadēva*. In a record of the governor of Nōlambavāḍī, he is called as *Mahārājādhirāja* (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IX-I, No. 127; *A.R.E.*, No. 442 of 1914). This identification was first proposed by Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, II, 454 and n. 5) and subsequently given up. But, this theory was once again supported by scholars like Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (*Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 253) and Prof. K.A. Nilakantaśastri (*The Chōlas* p. 287).
16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 253.
17. N. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-275.
18. K.A. Nilakantaśastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-290.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 253.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-268.
21. N. Ramesan, *Studies in Medieval Deccan History*, pp. 95-96. *taṁ Rājarājāṁ nṛpatīṁ nīrdhātya bhuvah prasahya Vijayāditya Vimalādityānujastasya dvaimāturo=grahīdrājyam*. (Pāmulavāka Plates of Vijayāditya VII).
22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 8, dated in 41st regnal year and Ś 983 (1061 A.D.)
23. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 33; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 31.
Tasya Śrīmān-ātmajō Rājarājō Rājat-tējaś=Chandravaṁś-āgragaṇyaḥ
S-aikāṁ chaivārīṁ satīṁ vatsarāṇī kshōṇīm Raksha dakshīṇō
Vimalādityach Chōḍānvay-aika-lakṣmyaś=cha rakshatī sma
Mēḍava mahādēvyah
ajani jaya śrī-nityō-Vijayādityō-narēśvara stutyah
Parōkṣe Rājarājasya bhrātur=dvaimāturasya yah
Pratyagrahīn=mahī rājya śriyaṁ vīra śriya vūṭah
24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 976; *A.R.E.*, No. 718 of 1909.
25. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 31.

26. *Kaṭṭiṅgattupparaṇi*, Canto X, verses 5-7.
 Jayangoṇḍār states that on the birth of the child the queen of Gangaikoṇḍaśōla raised him in her hands and expressed her admiration of the marks of his limbs by observing that he was fit to be a son of the solar line born for its protection. After that the poet adds that the kings of both the lunar and solar dynasties i.e., Rājarāja Narēndra and Rājēndra Gangaikoṇḍa experienced joy on the occasion of the birth of the prince.
27. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.
28. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, No. 38, p. 220.
29. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, No. 38, p. 243.
30. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, p. 106 ff.
31. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165 ff.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 317.
33. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, No. 38. p. 220; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.
34. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 64-7; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 179, n. 1 and 2.
35. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 232-33; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 179, n. 1 and 2; *A.R.E.*, No. 125 of 1900.
36. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1012; dated in § 990 (1068 A.D.) and in the 8th regnal year.
37. *Ancient India*, No. 5, January, 1949, p. 56.
38. N. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-302.
39. A record of Yaśahkarṇadēva, the Haihaya ruler of Tripuri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 208 ff.) dated in 1072-73 A.D., claims victory over the ruler of Andhra country. Dr. N. Ramesan is of the view that Vijayāditya VII sought the help of the Gangas on this occasion. But, this view is not acceptable as it has been clearly stated in the Ganga records that Rājarāja rescued Vijayāditya VII from *Dravilāhavōtsave* (Tamil battle).
40. *A.R.E.*, No. 205 of 1904, Part II, para 21, p. 11.
41. *S.I.I.* Vol. III. p. 117.
42. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Sarga VI, verse 26.
43. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 148, line X and XI.
44. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Sarga VI, verses 26-27.
45. *Ind. Int.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 337-338.

46. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 64, 65, 66, 67, 68 and 69. The inscriptions say : "Having established his fame, having put on the garland of (the victory over) the Northern region, and having stopped the prostitution of the goddess with the sweet and excellent lotus flower (Lakshmi) of the Southern region and the loneliness of the Goddess of the good country whose garment is the Poṇṇi (Kāvērī) he put on by right (of inheritance) the pure royal crown of jewels. while the kings of the old earth bore his two feet (on their heads) as a large crown".
47. *A.R.E.*, 1899, para 51, p. 14.
48. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1011; *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 177-78.
49. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 217 ff.
50. *Studies in Medieval Deccan History*, pp. 110 and 111.

3

Kulōttunga I

Kulōttunga I succeeded to the Chōḷa throne in 1070 A.D. after the short reign of Adhirājendra. Even though Kulōttunga I commenced to rule from 1070 A.D. as the Chōḷa ruler he did not extend his authority in Vēṅgī region as he pursued a peaceful policy with his paternal uncle, Vijayāditya VII. For this reason he allowed Vijayāditya VII to rule over the Andhra country as an independent ruler. He granted the villages Krundūru and Māvindēru in Guddavāṭi Viṣaya as the *agrahāras* to a learned scholar, Pampanabhaṭṭōpādhyāya.¹ His stone inscriptions are noticed at Drākṣārāma and Juttiga.²

Vijayāditya VII, died probably in or around 1075 A.D. and with his death took place a great political change in Vēṅgī region. At that time, Kulōttunga I was ruling the Chōḷa country with the capital at Gangaikōṇḍachōlapuram. Even though he annexed the Vēṅgī region to the Chōḷa Empire, he did not shift his capital into Āndhradēśa. Instead he

sent his sons as viceroys to rule over Vēṅgī. Thus Āndhradeśa became part and parcel of the Chōḷa Empire, and lost its political importance. This position of Vēṅgī was continued even after the rule of Kulōttunga I, and the administration of Āndhradeśa was entrusted to local chieftains, who were the subordinates of the imperial rulers. As Kulōttunga I and his successors held their authority both in the Chāḷukya and Chōḷa territories, they were commonly known as the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa rulers and the Andhra territories were treated as the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa viceroyalty. According to the copper plate records of the sons of Kulōttunga I, he married Madhurāntakī, the daughter of Rājendra Chōḍa II of the Solar race;³ he had several other wives, including Tyāgavallī, Eliśaivallabhī⁴ Trailōkya Mahādēvī,⁵ Rājendrachōḍī,⁶ Kāḍavan Mahādēvī,⁷ Tribhuvana Mahādēvī alias Kampamadēvī.⁸ Kulōttunga I had seven sons by Madhurāntakī, at the time of his accession to the Chōḷa throne. All the viceroys of Vēṅgī, excepting Parāntaka Chōḷa, who were sent by him, were her sons. Of them, Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga, Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa, Virachōḍa and Vikrama Chōḷa appear mentioned in the epigraphs. Of the seven sons of Madhurāntakī, Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga was the eldest son of Kulōttunga I.⁹ Parāntaka Chōḷa, the son of Kulōttunga I by Rājendra Chōḍī, also governed Vēṅgī as a viceroy for some time.¹⁰

Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa was the first viceroy sent by Kulōttunga I after the death of Vijayāditya VII. He celebrated his installation as viceroy of Vēṅgī on Wednesday, *Tulālagna*, July 27,¹¹ at Jananāthanagari. In his record, he bore the Eastern Chāḷukyan titles such as '*Sarvalōkāśraya*' (refuge of the whole word), *Vishṇuvardhana*,¹² etc. As all the viceroys of Vēṅgī bore the same epithets in the records, it often becomes difficult to distinguish one from the other. The reasons for appointing Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa as the first viceroy of Vēṅgī instead of Rāja Rāja Chōḍa Ganga, the eldest son of Kulōttunga I, are not known. The two copper plate records of Virachōḍa, another son of Kulōttunga I, state that Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa ruled Vēṅgī for only one year. But it does not appear to be correct. Mummaḍi Chōḍa

issued his records in his own regnal years, unlike all his brothers who issued the records in the regnal years of their father Kulōttunga I. From the Ellore copper plate record of Mummaḍi Chōḍa, it is evident that he ruled for at least two years, as the record itself was dated in his 2nd regnal year. This record registers the gift of Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa to his friend and feudatory, Mummaḍi Bhīma, who belonged to the Solar race, of 12 villages free of all taxes. Mummaḍi Bhīma was the grandson of Bhīma who belonged to the family of Kannaradēva and was the son of Sankiya and Kāmidēvi. The beneficiary of Mummaḍi Bhīma is stated to have been brought up from his childhood by Vijayāditya, the grand uncle and predecessor of the king in the viceroyalty of Vēṅgī, with special favour and treated almost like his own son. It is stated in the record that Mummaḍi Bhīma was gifted with the villages by his master for his great military services. Bhīma is said to have accompanied his suzerain Rājarāja in his wars against the Ganga, Kaṭṭiṅga and Kuntala kings. By this it may be surmised that the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi invaded Āndhradēśa taking advantage of the death of Vijayāditya VII in 1076 A.D. In repelling the forces of the Chālukyas, Mummaḍi Bhīma might have assisted his king. The Eastern Ganga ruler, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma, died in 1077 A.D. At the time of his death, his son Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadeva was a child, and taking this as an advantage his relatives tried to usurp the Eastern Ganga throne. As Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga was closely related to Kulōttunga I,¹³ Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa seems to have led a campaign against the enemies of Anantavarmadēva and established him securely on the throne of Kaṭṭiṅga. Mummaḍi Bhīma might have assisted Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa in defeating the agnates of Anantavarma Chōḍaganga effectively. Pleased with the valorous deeds of Mummaḍi Bhīma. Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa might have given him *manniya-nibaddhādhipatyam* in respect of the 1000 villages comprising the Vēṅgīpura *vishaya*.¹⁴ The *ādhipatyam* appears to have been in the nature of a governorship or a commissionership. There is not much information regarding the political events that took place during his viceroyalty. Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa might have

been seriously injured in the Kaḷiṅga battle and returned to Chōḷamaṇḍala in his 2nd regnal year. But the Chellūru copper plate¹⁵ states of his departure from Vēṅgī in a different manner. It states that Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa, after ruling for one year, returned from Vēṅgī thinking that serving the feet of his parents is better than governing the viceroyalty¹⁶.

As Virachōḍa, the next viceroy of Vēṅgī, seems to have been installed in 1079 A.D., it is reasonable to suppose that Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa ruled Vēṅgī upto that period. During his viceroyalty, Gonka I of Velanāṭi Durgaya family was the *samastasēnādhipati*.¹⁷ In a record of 1076-77 A.D., the 7th year of Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja at Chēbrōle, Gonka I was described as *krīḍādalitākḥilārinichaya* (who had hoardes of foes felled as if in a sport), *sisṭṭēshṭarakshāmaṇi* (saviour of the righteous and the favoured), *saṁkarakimkara* (servant of Saṁkara, the third in the Hindu Trinity), etc.

Virachōḍa bore the same Eastern Chāḷukyan titles such as *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Viṣṇuvardhana* like his brother Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa and ruled for a period of five years. Unlike his brother, Virachōḍa dated all his records in the regnal years of his father Kulōttunga I. During his viceroyalty the Western Chāḷukyas marched against Vēṅgī. Even though there is no mention of the names of the Western Chāḷukyan rulers or officials in the records, they are¹⁸ dated in Śaka 1003 and 1004 (1081 A.D. and 1082 A.D. respectively) bearing the Chāḷukya Vikrama years 5 and 6. The record of Banapati, the minister of the Ganga ruler, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman at Drākṣārāma is dated in 1081 A.D.¹⁹ and in the reign period of Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja. This shows that Banapati came to Vēṅgī probably to help the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas against the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi as the Kaḷiṅga region was a feudatory power of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas. As there are no records dated in Chāḷukya Vikrama Era after 1083 A.D., it may be considered that the Western Chāḷukyan invasion was a temporary one without any permanent effects in the country. A record of Kulōttunga I at Drākṣārāma, dated in his 13th regnal year indicates²⁰ the successful restoration of the authority of the

Chālukya-Chōḷas in this region. Virachōḍa's record is noticed at Mukhalingam,²¹ dated in Śaka 1004 (1082 A.D.). Even though the reasons for his visit to Kaḷiṅganagara are not mentioned in that record, it appears that he went there to help Anantavarma Chōḍaganga, then a minor, to stabilise his position.

The Pithāpuram stone pillar inscription of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara²² informs that, during the reign of Virachōḍa, the Velanāṭi Chief Vedula helped him in the battle against the Pāṇḍyas. At this time, Kulōttunga I came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyas and seemed to have been defeated by them as the Pāṇḍyan king²³ bore the title *Rajigachōḷa manōbhañja* (disturber of the mind of Rajigachōḷa), who can be identified with Kulōttunga I. Virachōḍa might have gone to the south to help his father against the Pāṇḍyas, accompanied by the Velanāṭi Chief Vedula II. The Pāṇḍyas, defeated by Chōḷas, seem to be the Uchchangi Pāṇḍyas, the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, residing in south-western portions of Bellary district.²⁴ Pleased with the military services of the Velanāṭi Chief Vedula II, Virachōḍa might have conferred on him as a reward "one half of the throne" and the *Sindhuyug-mantaradēśa*, i.e., the country between the two rivers. The two rivers are probably Krishna and Godavari, and the country between them must have been a portion of the Vēṅgī country, which Virachōḍa had obtained from his father Kulōttunga I as a viceroyalty.²⁵

As Virachōḍa left Vēṅgī for the cause of assisting his father Kulōttunga I, against the Pāṇḍyas, Kulōttunga I appointed his eldest son Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga to rule Vēṅgī as a viceroy.²⁶ Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga's installation took place on 22nd May, 1084 A.D., at Jananāthanagara. He also bore the Eastern Chālukyan titles and dated his records in the reign-period of his father. During his viceroyalty, he issued Teki copper plate charter dated in the 17th regnal year of his father. Kulōttunga I.²⁷ This grant was addressed to the inhabitants of the country between the Mannēru river and the

Mahēndra mountain.²⁸ These might have been the northern and southern boundaries of the Vēṅgi province. The Mahēndra mountain is in Ganjam district, and the Mannēru river passes Singarayakonda in Kandukur taluk of the Nellore district. This shows that parts of the Kaḷiṅga region have been included in the dominion of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas, and the people of Kaḷiṅga were subordinates to them.

Much interesting information is forthcoming from a stone record at Drākṣārāma²⁹ issued during the viceroyalty of Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga. The record was dated in the 15th regnal year of Kulōttunga I. It registers the vows of some *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, in the presence of Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga and Velanāṭi Gonka, to remain as the sincere servants of the Lord of Vēṅgi. As there are mentioned in the regnal years of Kulōttunga I, the name of Chōḍa Ganga and the name of Velanāṭi Gonka, this record is of much importance for the reconstruction of the political history of this period. The exact reasons for taking such severe vow in the presence of Lord Bhīmēśvara, the Vēṅgi viceroy and others are not known. It is apparent from this record that there was political chaos in Vēṅgi soon after the departure of Vira Chōḍa and before the arrival of Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga. Probably, during this period Kulōttunga I conferred on Velanāṭi Gonka I the Lordship over *śaṭsahasrāvanī*³⁰ (6,000 villages). Velanāṭi Gonka I was greatly responsible for the political stability of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa power in Andhra during this period. Hence, he assumed the title *Chāḷukyarājyabhavanamūla sthambhāyamāna* (pillar-like to the edifice of Chāḷukyan kingdom). Likewise, some of the *māṇḍalikas* also bore such titles, in the manner of the Velanāṭi Chiefs. Because of the chaotic political situation in Āndhradeśa after the departure of Virachōḍa, Velanāṭi Gonka might have forced them to swear such severe vows in the presence of Chōḍa Ganga and Lord Bhīmēśvara.

According to the Pithāpuram Inscription of Virachōḍa,³¹ he was again appointed the viceroy of Vēṅgi after Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga. Even before Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga could complete five years of rule in Vēṅgi, he was called back by his

father Kulōttunga I. It is stated in the Pithāpuram record that Virachōḍa was appointed for the subjugation of Kaṭiṅga.³² The second viceroyalty of Virachōḍa was completely saturated with wars. During his viceroyalty, Vēṅgī witnessed an invasion from the side of the Chakrakūṭa ruler. The contemporary Chakrakūṭa ruler was Sōmēśvara, the son of Dhārāvarsha. King Dhārāvarsha had been previously defeated by Kulōttunga I, when he was a youth, and exacted tribute from him. Hence it seems that Sōmēśvara invaded Vēṅgī to take revenge upon Kulōttunga who had defeated his father. The Kuruspāl³³ record of Sōmēśvara states that he defeated Virachōḍa and burnt the kingdom of Vēṅgī, like the great Arjuna who burnt the *khāṇḍava* forest. This statement is further supported by the same record wherein it is mentioned that Sōmēśvara bore the epithet, *Virachōḍa saṁyahāarakāmah*,³⁴ (desirous of killing Virachōḍa). Owing to the mutilated state of the record, it is not certain whether the date of the record and the events mentioned in it are correct. But, by the mentioning of the name of the Vēṅgī ruler, Virachōḍa, it can be assumed that probably the invasion took place during the second viceroyalty of Virachōḍa. Paramara Jagaddēva, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI and the son of Udayāditya might have participated in this battle. According to the Jainad stone inscription of Paramara Jagaddēva,³⁵ he defeated the Andhra ruler in an invasion. As this record is undated, like the Kuruspāl grant Sōmēśvara³⁶, it is not certain regarding the date of the invasion of Jagaddēva on the Andhra region. Hence it may be surmised that the Andhra ruler at this time was probably Virachōḍa, and Jagaddēva helped Sōmēśvara of Chakrakūṭa in defeating the Andhra ruler.

During his second viceroyalty, Virachōḍa issued two copper plate grants, one at Chellūru and the other at Pithāpuram. Both were dated in his father's regnal years as 21st and 23rd corresponding to 1091 A.D. and 1093 A.D. respectively. The Chellūru³⁷ copper plate grant records the gift of a village in Guddavādi *Vishaya* to the temple at Chellūru founded by the Brahmin *sēnāpati*, Mēdamārya. The Pithāpuram grant³⁸ registers the gift of Virachōḍa of the

villages Ālavelli, Ponnatorṟu and Ālami in the Prōlunāḍu *vishaya*, to five hundred and thirty six Brahmins. As there is an abundance of Tamil names in the list of the donees of Virachōḍa Chaturvēdimangalam, it can be inferred that there was a large importation of Tamil Brahmins to the north during the reign of Kulōttunga I.³⁹

At the time of the second viceroyalty of Virachōḍa, the political situation in Kāḷiṅga region became critical. Kulōttunga I sent Virachōḍa to Vēṅgi to completely subjugate the Kāḷiṅga region. Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga's agnate Dēvēndravarma became powerful and turned several *māṇḍalikas* of the Kadamba family to his side, and started ruling the Ganga territories independently taking advantage of the young age of Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga. So far, two records of Dēvēndravarma have been found which were issued during his reign. Of them, one is the copper plate grant, the Kambakāya copper plate record,⁴⁰ and the other is the Gāra stone record.⁴¹ By these records it is evident that he counted his regnal years even from the time of the coronation of Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga. Probably to defeat this powerful enemy of Anantavarmadēva, Kulōttunga I sent his son Virachōḍa to Āndhradēśa. This view can be attested by the presence of Virachōḍa's stone record at Mukhalingam.⁴² This record was dated in the 18th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva and in Śaka 1014 corresponding to 1092 A.D. Virachōḍa does not seem to have been successful in this mission, as Kulōttunga I had to undertake a campaign against Kāḷiṅga after this. It is not certain as for how many years Virachōḍa governed Vēṅgi as the viceroy of Kulōttunga I. Till now scholars assumed that Virachōḍa ruled till 1092-93 A.D.⁴³ and was succeeded by Vikrama Chōḷa. But, there is no sufficient information in regard to this. The main basis for this is the sole record at Piṭhāpuram.⁴⁴ According to the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva, Kulōttunga I ruled the Andhra *Vishaya* together with the five *draviḍas* for a period of 50 years, and his immediate successor was Vikrama Chōḷa who had the surname *Tyāgasamudra* (one who is like a sea of sacrifice). When Vikrama Chōḷa became the Emperor, the

Vēṅgī region was devoid of a ruler. Even though it has not been stated in this record from where he went to the Chōla country in the light of the information from the *praśastis* of Vikrama Chōla,⁴⁵ it has been supposed by the scholars that it was from Vēṅgī region. Vikrama Chōla's imperial *praśasti* eulogises his valorous deeds against Telinga Bhīma while he was a youth. It has been stated in his records that Vikrama Chōla had captured Telinga Bhīma of Kolanu when he took shelter in the Colair lake. Probably this chief was in league with the ruler of Kaṭṭiṅga, and then Vikrama Chōla had to lead a campaign against the Kaṭṭiṅga region and subjugate it. Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, a feudatory of Kulōttunga I, also claims the same victories as that of Vikrama Chōla in his Tamil records.⁴⁶ The same victories have been claimed by the Velanāṭi Chief Chōḍa I, the son of Gonka I.⁴⁷ Probably Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, a feudatory might have been sent by Kulōttunga I to subjugate Telinga Bhīma. And the actual victories gained by Parāntaka Pāṇḍya in the battle were claimed by Vikrama Chōla as his in his records. Even though Vikrama Chōla claimed to have attained victory in the Kaṭṭiṅga campaign in his records, there is nothing to suggest his viceroyalty in Vēṅgī country, as none of his records are noticed in Āndhradeśa during his viceroyalty. However, in the campaign against Kaṭṭiṅga region which took place in the last years of the second viceroyalty of Vīra Chōḍa, Vikrama Chōla might have participated. In this battle, Vīra Chōḍa might have died and nothing is known about him thereafter.

Jayangoṇḍār, the court poet of Kulōttunga I, wrote a long poem giving a graphic account of an expedition into the north Kaṭṭiṅga country conducted by Karuṇākaran, the prime minister of the Chōla Emperor Kulōttunga I.⁴⁸ According to this *Paraṇi* the real hero of the expedition was Karuṇākara-pallava, who had the title Tonḍaimān. In it the expedition against *Saptakaṭṭiṅga* or North Kaṭṭiṅga was described. When Kulōttunga I learnt that the king of North Kaṭṭiṅga or the Seven Kaṭṭiṅgas had failed to bring tribute for two successive years, he sent his troops at once to capture the refractory king. At that time, his prime minister Karuṇākaran prayed that he

might be honoured with the command over the army; and the emperor was graciously pleased to grant his request. He is also known as Pallavarāju. He gathered a mighty army and led it to the banks of the Ganges, and defeated the king of North Kaṭiṅga in a pitched battle, and returning to the Chōḷa Emperor presented him with all the booty. That is the content of the poem, *Kaṭiṅgattupparaṇi*.⁴⁹ The king of Kaṭiṅga against whom Karuṇākara led the expedition was most probably, Dēvēndravarma, the agnate of Anantavarma Chōḍaganga. Even though it has been said in the *paraṇi* that the main reason for undertaking the expedition against Kaṭiṅga was withholding of tributes, it does not seem so because, during this period, Kaṭiṅga region does not seem to have been in such a dependent state on the Chōḷa country. Even though the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa rulers helped the Ganga ruler in stabilising his position on his throne, the Kaṭiṅga region was not completely a subject state, as Anantavarma issued his epigraphs independently without acknowledging the name of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa sovereigns. Probably, Kulōttunga I undertook this campaign to check the ambitious Kaṭiṅga ruler, Dēvēndravarma, who troubled Anantavarma from time to time. But, even though it has been described in the *Paraṇi* that the Chōḷa armies attained victory in this expedition, there are no permanent results of this war. Anantavarma ruled the Kaṭiṅga region independently even after this victorious march of Kulōttunga I.

According to the historians and the Government epigraphist, there were two Kaṭiṅga invasions during the reign of Kulōttunga I.⁵⁰ Of them, one is mentioned in his 26th year, and the other in his 40th year and in the records of his later years. According to them, the expedition in which Vikrama Chōḷa participated is the first Kaṭiṅga invasion; and the account given in the work *Kaṭiṅgattupparaṇi* is the second Kaṭiṅga campaign. A Tamil record⁵¹ of the year 1099 A.D. at Simbāchalam temple registers the gifts of a minister (*sandhivigrahi*) of Kulōttunga I. This testifies that the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa army might have stayed in these premises during the early years of Anantavarma to guard his interests. But the account given in *Paraṇi* has been corroborated by a

record of Kulōttunga I at Drākṣārāma in which Pallavarāju has been credited with the victories over Kaṭṭiṅga.⁵² This record is dated in the 33rd regnal year of Kulōttunga I. The record mentions the military achievements of one of the Emperor's chief officers, who is variously known as Vaṇḍuvarāja, Pallavarāja (U) and Tiruvaranga the crest jewel of the Śudra family. He was the son of certain Śirilaṅgo, a resident of Maṇḍalañjēri in Tirunaraīyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Chōlamaṇḍalam. He is described as a good Vaishṇavaite, a heroic person and *Śrīdvārachāmara ghanātapavāraṇuika śankha dhvaja pramukharājita rājyabāhuḥ* (like the arm of the kingdom decorated with the insignia of royalty such as: the *chāmara*, the parasol that wards off rain and heat, the conch, the flag etc.).⁵³ He subjugated the Kaṭṭiṅga country defeating Dēvēndravarma, and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the Odra country raising aloft Rājēndra Chōlas fame.⁵⁴ As this record was dated in the 33rd regnal year of Kulōttunga I, corresponding to 1102-03 A.D., the victories of Pallavarāja of this record seem to belong to the first Kaṭṭiṅga campaign. Vaṇḍuvarāja or Pallavarāja of the Drākṣārāma record and Karuṇākaran and Toṇḍaimān of *Kaṭṭiṅgattupparaṇi* seem to have been the same, as the period and activities of both are identical. Hence the two Kaṭṭiṅga campaigns, stated by the historians, can be reduced to one by the identification of Karuṇākaran Toṇḍaimān with Pallavarāja.⁵⁵ The Western Chālukyas started their invasions into Andhra from the 40th regnal year of Kulōttunga I. Probably the Western Chālukyas helped Dēvēndravarma to create more serious situation to the Chālukya-Chōlas in Andhra. Hence during the period from 1110 A.D. to the last years of his rule i.e., 1118 A.D., Kulōttunga I was preoccupied with checking the Western Chālukyan armies. Belonging to this period, a number of stone records at Drākṣārāma mentioning the names of several *māṇḍalika* chieftains of Andhra, have been noticed. They might have been called upon by the Chōla Emperor to help him meet the situation in the Andhra and Kaṭṭiṅga regions.

Some of the inscriptions at Drākṣārāma of this period record the gifts of several Tamil military officials such as

Rājarāja Brahmamānāyadu, Valavan Mārtāṇḍa Mūvēnda Velāru, Ganjāṭṭam Pañchanadi Mudigoṇḍa Vatsarāyaru, Maruttuvakuḍi, Maruttakkudayama Sitamani Mālarāyaru and others.⁵⁶ In the records of the *māṇḍalikas* of this period also, the Kaṭṭiṅga invasion of Kulōttunga I has been referred to. Of them, the achievements of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, Kōṇakaṇḍravāḍis, and the Kōṭa chiefs are noteworthy. In a record from Velpur dated 1108 A.D., Kōṭa Bhīmarāja has been credited with the conquest of the Kaṭṭiṅga king whom he subordinated to Rājendra Chōḍa.⁵⁷ Rājendra Chōḍa of this record, refers to no other than Kulōttunga I. Probably Kōṇa Pōtarāja attained the title *Vēṅgīndra*, and the Vēṅgī 1000 villages for his meritorious military services in the Kaṭṭiṅga campaign from Kulōttunga I.⁵⁸

Some inscriptions at Sarpavaram and Bhimavaram mention the name of Śrī Vira Permāḍi Dēva,⁵⁹ who assumed the usual Eastern Chāḷukyan epithets such as *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja* like all the other viceroys of Vēṅgī. His relationship with Kulōttunga I is not stated anywhere in the contemporary records. However, in a record at Bhimavaram, the gift of 27 *māḍas* made by Vira Permāḍidēva to the temple is registered with the signature of Pallavarāyar. Pallavarāyar of this record might be the same as Pallavarāju, who had been credited with the several victories over Kaṭṭiṅga in a Drākṣārāma record of Kulōttunga I, dated in the 33rd regnal year of the king. The association of the military official of Kulōttunga I with Vira Permāḍidēva at Bhimavaram is significant and would suggest that he enjoyed the status of the viceroy of Vēṅgī. It is confirmed by the evidence of the Bhimavaram record wherein it is stated that he gifted the taxes such as *antarāya*, *veṇḍāya* and *samastāya*, collected from the wet lands (*tuṇinēla*) from the 31st year to the 33rd year of Kulōttunga I to the God after listening to the several requests of the citizens of the town. Vira Permāḍidēva had five queens and they liberally donated to the temples at Sarpavaram and Bhimavaram. The queens mentioned in the inscriptions are : Chōḍa Mahādēvi, Ādvāru Vallavavam grānaḍlu, Āṇḍāru Chermbiyamgrānaḍlu. Kavirāja Mahādēvi

and Mīnava Mahādēvi. The records of Vīra Permāḍidēva in Andhra appears from the 23rd to the 37th regnal years of Kulōttunga I i.e., 1093 to 1107 A.D.

Scholars like B.V. Krishna Rao, N. Ramesan and others have totally ignored the records of Vīra Permāḍidēva and gave scope for a period of gap between the viceroyalties of Vīra Chōḍa and Parāntakadēva, i.e., from 1093 to 1111 A.D.⁶⁰ But it has been rightly pointed out by late Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma⁶¹ that Vīra Permāḍidēva was the Vēṅgī Viceroy after the second viceroyalty of Vīra Chōḍadēva. Evidence is still lacking to state that he is the son of Kulōttunga I. But as all the other viceroys of Vēṅgī were the sons of Kulōttunga I, it may be suggested that he was also another son of him.

After Vīra Permāḍidēva, *Sarvalōkāśraya Śrīviṣṇuvardhana* Parāntakadēva known from the records of the period is the viceroy of Vēṅgī. His stone records are noticed at Drākṣārāma, Bezawāda and Bhimavaram. Unlike the records of the previous viceroys of Vēṅgī, the records of Parāntaka start with the *praśasti* of Kulōttunga I. In his records he is described as *Chālukya Simhāsana Śrīnātha* (Lord of the prosperity of the Chālukyan throne), *Chālukya varṇa tilaka* (ornament of Chālukya family), *Rājendra Chōḍadēva tanūja* (son of Rājendra Chōḍadēva), etc. According to his Mallavaram copper plate grant, he is the son of Kulōttunga I by Rājendra Chōḍi.⁶² He had the titles: *Chakravarti* (Emperor) and *Tribhuvana Chakravartin* (Emperor of the three worlds). As he had such supreme titles even during the lifetime of the Chālukya-Chōḷa ruler Kulōttunga I, it can be estimated that he was chosen as the heir-apparent by Kulōttunga I. This can be well-attested by the record of Parāntaka in which it is stated that he having been seated on the excellent couch in the *abhiṣeka mantapa* within the main palace in Jananāthapura in the 47th regnal year of Kulōttunga I decided the taxes on various grains.⁶³ Evidence is forthcoming in this regard from the Tamil records that Kulōttunga I appointed Parāntaka as his co-regent with the title Parakēsarivarman.⁶⁴

The inscription of Parāntakadēva at Bezawada⁶⁵ is dated in his 5th regnal year as well as in Śaka year 1037 (Manmatha) corresponding to 1115 A.D. In this record Parāntakadēva is referred to as *rājasarvajña* and *Tribhuvana chakravartin*. The record incorporates valuable information relating to the conferring of the *raḍḍikam* of Bezawāda to the *Māṇḍalika* chiefs of Telugu Pallava family. A long *praśasti* of the Telugu Pallavas is mentioned in the record. It starts with *sakala parama vaṁṣōdbhava bharadvājagōtra, khaṭvāṅgadhvaṇa, vṛṣabhalāṇchana, Kāñchīpuravara, Pallava kulatilaka, pādāmbujasēvita, annuvakāmakula, sāhasājṇa, sangrāmarāma, Chāḷukyānankakāra, paramaṇḍala cūrakāra*. Interestingly, in the second half of the record reference is made to the Śaka year 1046 corresponding to 1124 A.D. which was wrongly assumed by several scholars as the 46th regnal year. Further, it is stated in the record that *rājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka ravikulatilaka Satyāśraya Vaṁṣya Chāḷukyābharaṇa Śrīmat Pemmanaḍi dēva* being pleased by the valour of the *māṇḍalika* Bhīma, conferred on him the *raḍḍikam* of Bezawāda. It has been suggested by Dr. V. Yasoda Devi⁶⁶ and late Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao⁶⁷ that the king mentioned in the inscription was Kulōttunga I and it was issued in his regnal years. The Government Epigraphist⁶⁸ opined that the record was issued in the 5th regnal year of Parāntaka Chōḷa and in the 46th regnal year of Śrī Pemmanaḍidēva. Dr. V. Yasoda Devi identified *Rājendra Chōḷadēva Tanūja*, (i.e., the son of Rājendra Chōḷa) of the record with the Chōḷa king Rājamahendra (A.D. 1060-1063), the son of Rājendra II (1052-1064 A.D.). But this identification is not reasonable. Kulōttunga I had the princely name Rājendrā Chōḷa, hence his son may be identified with the reigning viceroy of Vēṅḡṭi i.e., Parāntaka Chōḷa and similarly the title *rājasarvajña* refers to Parāntaka Chōḷa reigning at Jananāthapura and not to Vikrama Chōḷa as suggested by Dr. V. Yasoda Devi. A close study of the record⁶⁹ reveals that the record was not dated in the regnal years of Kulōttunga I but in the Śaka date 1046 equivalent to A.D. 1124 and the king Pemmanaḍi dēva can reasonably be identified with Vikrama Chōḷa (A.D. 1118-1135).

At Drākṣārāma are found certain undated records registering the vows not to acknowledge any other person as their ruler except Parāntakadēva.⁷⁰ Parāntakadēva of these records might be the same known as the son of Kulōttunga I and the ruler of Vēṅgī from 1107 to 1118 A.D. It appears that Vikrama Chōla was declared as the heir-apparent to the Chālukya-Chōla throne while Parāntakadēva was ruling at Vēṅgī region. Probably, for this reason, several persons had taken such severe vows at Drākṣārāma. This shows that there was a dispute for the succession to the throne. In the last years of Kulōttunga I, the Chōla dominion was torn in war between the two brothers Parāntaka and Vikrama Chōla claiming the throne.⁷¹ By the presence of an officer of Vikramabāhu of Ceylon at this time in Vēṅgī, it may be inferred that he was there to help the contestant Parāntaka, supported by the ruling monarch his father Kulōttunga I as against Vikrama Chōla.⁷²

The Hoysala ruler, Viṣṇuvardhana, is credited in his son's record with the title "*nijasēnānātha nirdaḷita janānāthapura*" (one who killed the military commander of Jananāthapura). Further, in an inscription at Halebid, he is described as a lion to the elephant, i.e. the lord of Andhra. By this, it may be assumed that Viṣṇuvardhana must have destroyed Jananāthapura before 1117 A.D., though it is not certain of its cause. But it is probable that since Vikrama Chōla was born of a Hoysala princess, Viṣṇuvardhana must have championed his cause and attacked Vēṅgī. By this, it is clear that there was a critical condition in the politics of Vēṅgī after the rule of Virapermāḍidēva and during the ruling years of Parāntakadēva. In a record at Drākṣārāma, Maḍapalli Nūmkaya is said to have been the companion-at-arms of Parāntaka at the time of his conquest of the quarters (*digvijayitrayātra-sakhaḥ*).⁷³ But it is not certain because of the scantiness of the material concerning the details of this victorious campaign of Parāntaka. Probably, because of the chaotic political situation prevailing in Vēṅgī at this time, Kulōttunga I conferred the royal emblems and insignia of royalty on several chiefs of Āndhradēśa, who were in the

service of the Chālukya-Chōlas as generals and feudatories, and made them *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*. The foremost among such families were the Chōḍas of Velanāḍu. Velanāṭi Gonka I, who was the military official of the Chālukya-Chōlas in 1076 A.D.,⁷⁴ became the chief supporter of the Chālukya-Chōlas by 1106 A.D.⁷⁵ From this time onwards, the Velanāṭi Chōlas governed over the *shaṭsahasrāvani*.⁷⁶ They started their career ruling over this territory with their capital at Dhanadapura, modern Chandolu in Bapatla taluk of Guntur district. The Velanāḍu Chōlas traced their descent from the fourth caste (*chaturthānvaya*)⁷⁷ born out of the feet of Brahma who was born from the navel-lotus of Viṣṇu. The Tripurāntakam inscription of Velanāṭi Gonka refers to him as the chief supporter of the Chālukya kingdom ruling over the thousand—three-hundred districts, and records his grant of Bētalapāḍu in Kammanāḍu on the banks of Gunderu, i.e., Gundlakamma.⁷⁸ He showed his reverence to his Chālukya-Chōla suzerain by naming his son after Kulōttunga I as Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍaya. According to the Pithāpuram stone inscription of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara, Kulōttunga I treated Rājendra Chōḍa as his son and furnished him with the royal emblems.⁷⁹ And being pleased with Rājendra Chōḍa, Kulōttunga I conferred on him the Vēṅgīmaṇḍala 16,000. But the Velanāṭis attained the largest extent of the area under Gonka II only. This can be well attested by the records of Gonka II in which he is said to have ruled over the country from Setu to river Narmada and from Kalahasti to Mahēndragiri.⁸⁰ This information has been corroborated by the Pithāpuram record of Prithviśvara which states that Gonka's kingdom touched Mahēndragiri in the north-east, the ocean in the east. Srisailam in the west and Nellore and Kalahasti in the south.⁸¹

After the Kaṭiṅga campaign, Kulōttunga I conferred the insignia of royalty not only on the Velanāṭi Chōlas but also on the Haihayas of Kōṇamaṇḍala and several other *māṇḍalikas*. This indigenous policy initiated by Kulōttunga I raises the leading families who had been for generations serving the Eastern Chālukyas to feudatory status. By this, Kulōttunga I stabilizes his position in Andhra Country during and after his

reign. The Haihayas of Kōna held sway over Kōnamaṇḍala, the deltaic region of river Gōdavarī from the last quarter of the 11th Century A.D. The Haihayas traced their descent from Kārtavīra and belonged to the Kshatriya caste.⁸² The earliest historical person of the Kōna dynasty was Kīrtirāja of Haihaya *varṇa*.⁸³ But he is not referred to in the Pithāpuram inscription, which mentions Mummaḍi Bhīma I as the first ruler of Haihayas after Kārtavīrya.⁸⁴ Mummaḍi Bhīma received the insignia of sovereignty from Rājādhirāja Rājendra Chōḍa and became the lord of Vēṅgī.⁸⁵ But the date of this conferment is not specified in any record. Mummaḍi Bhīma had two sons Venna and Rājapareṇḍu I, and was succeeded by Rājapareṇḍu I.⁸⁶ As these chiefs were ruling Kōnamaṇḍala or Kōnarāshtra, they were generally known as Haihayas of Kōna or Kōna Haihayas.

Another such family raised by Kulōttunga I was the Koṇḍapaḍumati chiefs of Nādeṇḍla. The country Koṇḍapaḍumati of *śailapratīchi-vishaya*, the country to the west of the Koṇḍavīdu range of hills—corresponding to the Eastern portion of Sattenapalle taluk of the present Guntur district was held by the Koṇḍapaḍumatis. They had their capital at Nādeṇḍla, not far from Chandolu, the Velanāḍu capital. Like the Velanāḍus, they also belong to the fourth caste.⁸⁷ In their records they bore the title “*Kulōttungachōḍa divya śrīpāda-padmarādhaka*” (who worshipped the lotus feet of Kulōttunga).⁸⁸ Besides these families, two other families—the Parichchēdis of Omgērumārga⁸⁹ (Ongole region) who bore the significant title *Chōḍa kaṭaka vajra prākāra* (who were like a diamond rampart to the Chōḍa mansion) and Kōṭa chiefs of Dharanikōṭa⁹⁰—were raised to feudatory status by Kulōttunga I to protect the western frontier of the Vēṅgī Kingdom.

The records of Parāntaka Chōḷa are noticed in Vēṅgī region, upto the 49th regnal year of Kulōttunga I, corresponding to 1118-19 A.D. This shows that Parāntaka ruled Vēṅgī region up to that period. Probably, after the Kaḷiṅga conquest of Kulōttunga I, the Western Chālukyan ruler, Vikramāditya VI, invaded Vēṅgī. Vikramāditya VI tried to extend his

power to Vēṅgī soon after his accession, but all his efforts proved futile, and Vēṅgī became more closely united than ever to the Chōḷa country which was hostile to Vikramāditya VI.⁹¹ And added to this, Kuḷōttunga I, taking advantage of the unhappy relations between the brothers Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēśvara II, sought the help of Sōmēśvara II and succeeded in repelling the first attack of Vikramāditya VI on the Chōḷa country. Hence Vikramāditya VI, who strongly opposed the permanent union of Vēṅgī and Chōḷa in the hands of Kuḷōttunga I wanted to take revenge against him. Throughout his long reign, Vikramāditya VI was untiring in the pursuit of his design against Kuḷōttunga in all possible quarters. Probably the troubles in Vēṅgī region such as the revolts of Telinga Bhīma and the Kaḷiṅga war were owing to the political intrigues of Vikramāditya VI.⁹² That Vikramāditya VI was bent on making reprisals for his failure in the first war against Kuḷōttunga and kept up his enmity against Kuḷōttunga unabated, is clear from the records of his reign.⁹³ Vikramāditya VI sent an army under the command of his general Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka against Vēṅgī probably in or about 1115 A.D. The Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Chōḍa and the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief Eṇṇamaṇḍa seem to have attacked the Western Chāḷukyan armies in vain. A record of Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka at Chēbrolu⁹⁴ in Guntur district dated in the 40th year of Chāḷukya Vikrama era proves his victory in the conquest of Vēṅgī. Chintalūri Bhīmarusu the *peggaḍa* or minister of Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka issued a record at Drakṣārāma⁹⁵ dated in the 48th regnal year of Kuḷōttunga I, which shows that the Western Chāḷukyas conciliated with the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas for a time. Because of the high claims of the valorous deeds in the battle field of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Maṇḍa and his officials, it is apparent that the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi had to make peace with the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa rulers.

Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka does not seem to have maintained peaceful relations for a long time, for, there is a record of him at Kommūru in Guntur district dated in the 43rd year of Chāḷukya Vikrama era corresponding to 1118 A.D. Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka was holding positions of importance

under Vikramāditya VI from 1100 A.D.⁹⁸ He was known as *Mahāpradhāna* Bānasa Veggāḍa, *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahāsāmantā-dhipati*.⁹⁷ Kulōttunga's records were found in Drākṣārāma in a continuous series upto his 49th year, corresponding to 1118-19 A.D.⁹⁸ After Kulōttunga I in 1118 A.D., Vikrama Chōla succeeded to the Chālukya-Chōla throne. The Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadēva dated Śaka 1124 (1202 A.D.) makes a definite statement that, after Kulōttunga had ruled for 50 years, when Vikrama Chōla went to rule the Chōla country, the land of Vēṅgi at once fell into a state of anarchy.⁹⁹ This shows the political situation of Vēṅgi in or about 1118 A.D. The records of Vikrama Chōla dated before his 9th regnal year are not available in the Northern Circars. And the number of the records are also comparatively less in these regions. Adding to all these, there is a record of queen of Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka¹⁰⁰ at Drākṣārāma dated in the 45th year of Chālukya Vikrama era. This would suggest that the Vēṅgi country had gone into the hands of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi completely in 1120 A.D. The records of Vikramāditya VI are found in considerable numbers in Drākṣārāma and are dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era. The largest number of the records bear dates from 45 to 48 of Chālukya Vikrama era.¹⁰¹ Among them are caused to be engraved by the Telugu feudatories of Vikramāditya, who mention their subordinate positions either openly or implicitly by either naming their suzerain lord or simply dating their records in the Chālukya-Vikrama era.¹⁰² This can be attested by the record of Velanāṭi Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa's minister, Nārāyaṇapreggaḍa, who gifted away the perpetual lamp for the merit of his mother to Lord Bhīmēśvara in the year 1120 A.D.¹⁰³ Thus by the Western Chālukyan invasions in the last years of the rule of Kulōttunga I, the Chālukya-Chōlas lost a considerable part of their regions to the Western Chālukyas. Hence it is clear that the extent of the Chālukya Chōla dominions was much less than what it was at the time of his accession. The latest known record of Kulōttunga I at Pudukkottai refers to his fifty-second year showing that he lived upto 1122 A.D.¹⁰⁴

The imperial policy of Kulōttunga I, after he became the:

Chālukya-Chōla Emperor, or assigning the administration of Vēṅgī country to his own sons successively as viceroys with full autonomy and elevating the local chiefs to feudatory status, added greatly to the strength of the Chōla empire shutting the doors against the intrigues of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi for a period. Even though Kulōttunga I lost some of his territories towards the close of his reign, it was only temporarily, and his successors recovered much of it. Thus Kulōttunga I rejuvenated the Chōla Empire, gave it further lease of effective life which prevailed till 1173 A.D., extended it, and maintained the integrity of his Andhra territories almost throughout the period of his rule for half a century. There were territorial losses during his last years because of his old age; and as his sons became mutual rivals for the throne after him, they could not render any effective aid to their father either at the centre or in the Andhra viceroyalty. Besides this, the Andhra territories were remote that gave advantage to the Western Chālukyas. Yet that was only temporary and as the successors of Kulōttunga I were competent they could recover the positions.

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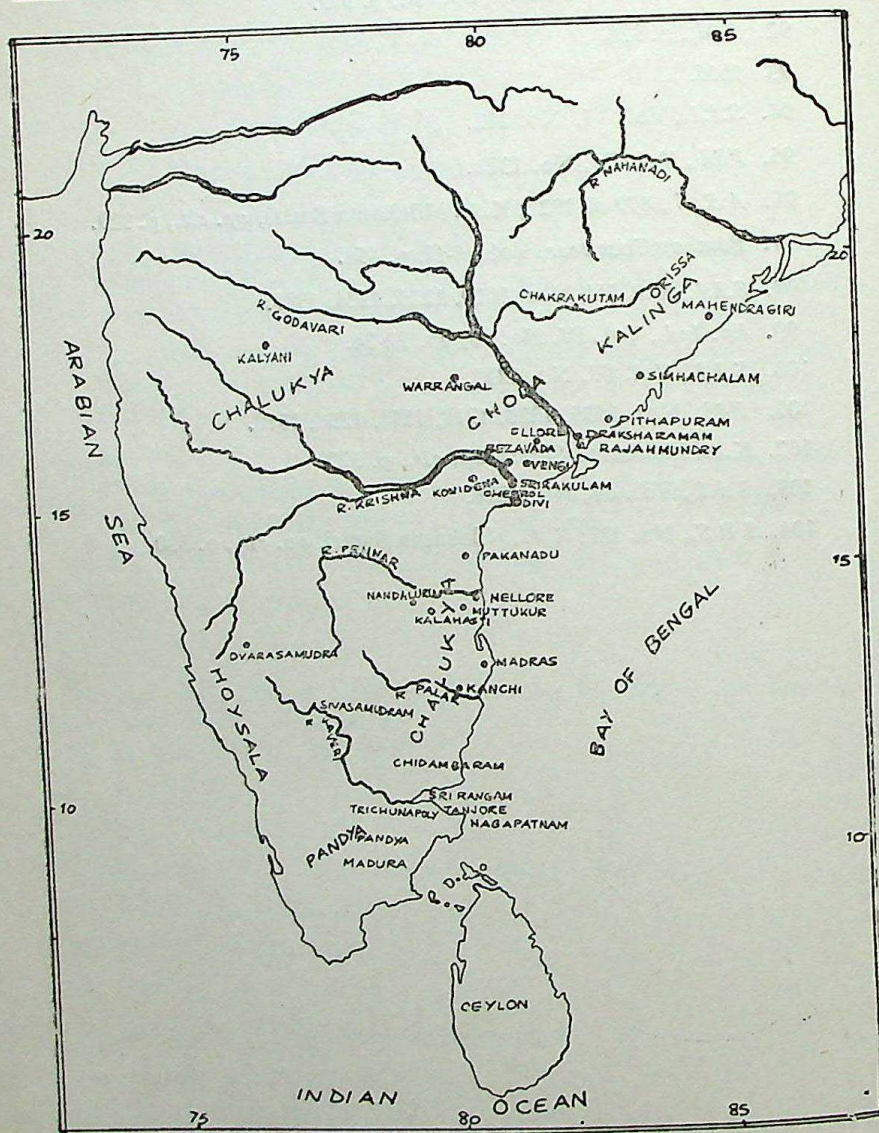
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54. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 139 and 140.
55. The dates of the Kaṭiṅga campaign in a Tamil record in the South (1096 A.D.), grant in Tamil at Simhāchalam (1099 A.D.) and Drākṣārāma grant (1102-03 A.D.) are quite loose. *Kaṭiṅgattupparaṇi* mentions only one campaign. There is feasibility of identification of Karuṇākaran Toṇḍaimān and Pallavarāja who led the campaign. In view of all these factors there seems to be only one Kaṭiṅga campaign, but not two as surmised by some historians to have taken place in the 26th and 40th regnal years of Kulōttunga I. Although a Tamil record in the South mentioned the campaign as occurring in 40th regnal year, it was not probable because of the Western Chālukyan menace to the Andhra region. Thus it seems that a single campaign, because of its achievements were mentioned in various inscriptions at various times giving scope to the view that there were more than one campaign.
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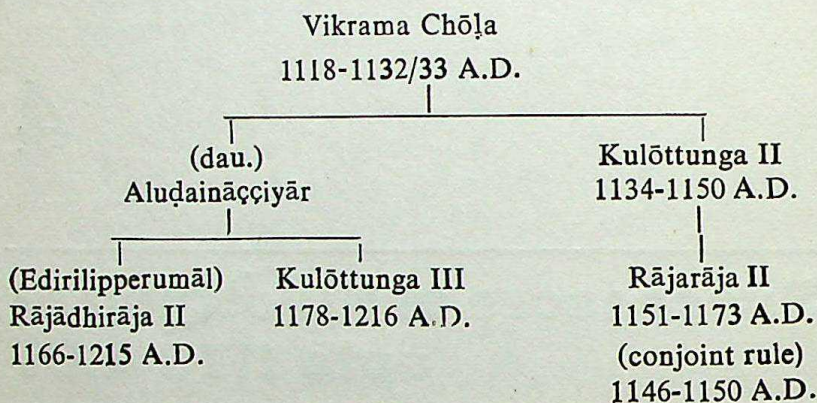
SOUTH INDIA AND THE DECCAN IN 12TH CENTURY A.D.



Successors of Kulōttunga I upto 1173 A.D.

The Chellūru plates of Kulōttunga II¹ and the Pithapuram plates of Mallapadēva² state that Kulōttunga I was succeeded by his son Vikrama Chōḷa. According to the Teki plates, he was not the eldest son of Kulōttunga I but a younger brother of Vira Chōḷa, the third son of Kulōttunga I.³ Some of his records⁴ indicate that he ruled the country conjointly with his father. As it has been pointed out earlier, his accession to the throne was disputed by his brother, Parāntakadēva but ultimately Vikrama Chōḷa came to the throne. According to Prof. Kielhorn's calculations of the dates of his inscriptions in the Tamil and Telugu countries, his coronation took place on the 29th June, 1118 A.D., and his last known date is 1132-33 A.D.⁵

The Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva⁶ states that, after the departure of Vikrama Chōḷa to the Chōḷa country, the Vēṅḡl region became devoid of a ruler, and this

Successors of Kulōttunga I

resulted in political turmoil. At the time of the accession of Vikrama Chōla to the Chōla throne, Vēṅgī country was under the Western Chālukyan occupation. There are no inscriptions of Parāntaka in Andhra region after 1118-19 A.D. His latest inscriptions in Vēṅgī are dated in the 49th regnal year of Kulōttunga I.⁷ Hence his whereabouts after 1118-19 A.D. are not clearly known.

Prof. K.A.N. Sastri⁸ and Sri N. Sethuraman⁹ expressed their opinion that Parāntakadēva of the two Tamil records and the Kanyākumārī inscription might be the same as Parāntakadēva, the Viceroy of Vēṅgī. The Kanyākumārī¹⁰ inscription is dated in the 9th regnal year and refers to the victories of the king in subjugating the Cēras, Telinga Bhīman of Andhra and the Kaṭiṅga region. As the Telugu stone records and the Mallavaram copper plate record issued by him are silent about the above said victories, it is difficult to accept the view point of the scholars. Moreover, the Kanyākumārī grant corresponds to the year 1120 A.D. (i.e., 1111+9) and by that time Vikrama Chōla was the reigning Chālukya-Chōla king.

An inscription found at Tripurantakam¹¹ in Kurnool district mentions the Western Chālukyan officers Anantapāla and his nephew Gōvindarasa. Gōvindarasa was the governor of Koṇḍapalli 300 district in 1126 A.D.-1127 A.D. In this inscription, he claims to have burnt Bēṅgīpura, defeated a prince (*kumāra*) at Jananāthapura, and conquered Gonka. The (*kumāra*) prince mentioned in the epigraph might be Parāntaka, the son of Kulōttunga I; and Gonka of this record might be the Velanāti Chōḍa chief, the ruler of Vēṅgī 16,000. After all these successes, Gōvinda must have established himself at Koṇḍapalli in Guntur district that commanded a position of importance from the geographical and strategical point of view in Vēṅgī. According to an inscription from Kommuru in Guntur district, Anantapāla was ruling Vēṅgī—14,000¹² in 1118 A.D. Anantapāla's records show that he governed Vēṅgī from 1118 A.D. to 1123 A.D. After him, Gōvinda Daṇḍanāyaka ruled Vēṅgī upto 1135 A.D. It seems likely that Vikrama Chōla wanted to regain his lost possessions

from the Western Chālukyas soon after his accession to the throne. The victories claimed by Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka and his nephew Gōvinda Daṇḍanāyaka were probably achieved when Vikrama Chōla made such an attempt sometime before 1127 A.D. The Western Chālukyan occupation in Vēṅgi is testified by an inscription of Velanāṭi Chōḍa at Drākṣārāma¹³ in 1120-21 A.D. which shows that he was a vassal of the Western Chālukyan king Vikramāditya VI. In another record from Tripurantakam dated in the Chālukya Vikrama Era 51 (1126-27), Anantapāla is stated to have defeated and driven the Chōla army as far as Kāñchī, plundered that celebrated city and thus gained the title *Chōla Kaṭakachūrakāra* (Captor of Fort of the Chōlas).¹⁴ Practically Vikramāditya VI extended his sway over the whole of Telugu country, as evidenced by his epigraphs in several parts of the Āndhradēśa.¹⁵

Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukyan ruler died in 1126 A.D. This enabled the Chālukya-Chōla suzerains and their subordinates to put an end to the authority of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. In his campaign against the Western Chālukyas, Vikrama Chōla was assisted by the Velanāṭi Chōḍas, Koṇḍapadumaṭis, Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala, Parichchēdis, and several other minor dynasties ruling in Āndhradēśa. Mention may be made of the part played by a noteworthy warrior, the Parichchēdi chief Nambaya, in the battle against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. His allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōlas is clear by his Chebrole epigraph of 1127 A.D. dated in the 9th regnal year of Vikrama Chōla.¹⁶ He played a distinguished role in the restoration of the authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas by 1127 A.D. His very epithet *Vēṅgi Chālukyarājya Mūlastambha*¹⁷ (like a supporting pillar to the Vēṅgi Chālukyan kingdom) shows that he was a staunch supporter of the Vēṅgi Chālukya kingdom. While fighting with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, Nambaya came into conflict with the later Pāṇḍyas, who were the feudatories of Vikramāditya VI. This is evidenced by a record from Belturu of 1127 A.D.¹⁸ It is a record of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍyadēva, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, ruling Noḷambavāḍi who had

the title—the punisher of the Parichchēdins and the vanquisher of the hopes of the Chōḷa king Rajiga Chōḷa. Rajiga Chōḷa of this record was no other than Vikrama Chōḷa, and the Parichchēdin was no doubt Nāmbaya. This record shows the reverses suffered by the combined forces of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas and their feudatories in the re-establishment of their supremacy in Vēṅgī in the hands of the Western Chāḷukyan feudatories. Anyhow the restoration of the Chōḷa power in Vēṅgī by 1127 A.D. shows that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya's victory did not result in the continuation of Western Chāḷukyan power in Vēṅgī. Soon after the restoration of Vēṅgī from the firm grip of the Western Chāḷukyan armies, Nāmbi Rāja extended his kingdom from Omgerumārga into Saṣṣahasra and had his capital at Kollipāka.¹⁹ Likewise, the restoration of the authority over Andhra regions by the Velanāṭi Chōḷas can well be observed from the three records from Kalahasti²⁰ dated in the 12th regnal year of Vikrama Chōḷa. The territory between Krishna and Godavari was freed from Western Chāḷukyan authority by the Chāḷukyas of Pithāpur and their subordinates, Malayas and Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala.²¹

After the death of Vikramāditya VI, Sōmēśvara III ascended the Western Chāḷukyan throne. He ruled from 1128 to 1137 A.D. He had the titles *Bhūlōkamalla* and *Sarvajña-chakravartin* (Omniscient Emperor). For some period, he seemed to have maintained the former position inherited from his father in Vēṅgī. This is clear by some of the Telugu stone records in Āndhradeśa dated in the Chāḷukya Vikrama era. An inscription dated Śaka 1051 (1129 A.D.) available in the Gurizala²² registers the gift of 4 *Kharis* of land to the temple of Lord Virabhadra by Bētabhūpa of the Haihaya family, a dependent of Bhūlōkamalladēva. This indicates the fact that Sōmēśvara III subdued Palnad and other areas in modern Guntur district. A record from Bapatla²³ in Guntur district is dated in Śaka 1050 (1128 A.D.) and in the Chāḷukya Vikrama era. The Chāḷukya Vikrama era date is wrongly given in the record as Chāḷukya Vikrama era 3, which does not correspond to Śaka 1050. This record registers the gift of a lamp by

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kaṭiyarāju. Another record at Bapatla²⁴ is dated in Śaka 1053 (1131 A.D.) and in the Chālukya Vikrama era 5. This record registers the gift of 9 *chāmaramāḍus* for the perpetual lamp to Lord Bhāvanārāyanadēva by the second queen of the Velanāṭi chief. This shows that the Velanāṭi-Chōḍas had to acknowledge the authority of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi by dating their records in the Chālukya Vikrama era. In addition to the records of Guntur district dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era, some of the records²⁵ Drākṣārāma are also dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era. Kallayasāhini, a commander who was in the service of Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, a Western Chālukya general in Vēṅgi, is heard from a record at Drākṣārāma bearing the date 1132 A.D.²⁶ From another record dated in 1133 A.D. and the 58th year of Chālukya Vikrama era from Drākṣārāma²⁷ are known three Western Chālukyan generals—Gōvindarāju son of Ādimayyanāyaka, Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka son of Mākamavva, and Lakshmaṇa's premier, *Mahāpradhāni* Siddhimayyanāyaka. Of these generals, Ādimayya is probably identical with Āḍitya Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Brahmadēva Nāyaka, of the time of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāḍitya VI, who figured in a record from Drākṣārāma dated in the year 1122 A.D. and the 45th year of Chālukya Vikrama era.²⁸ In another record from Drākṣārāma dated 1133 A.D. and the Chālukya Vikrama era 58 Siddhiraja Daṇḍanāyaka and his son *Mahāpradhāni* Kechimayya Daṇḍanāyaka are mentioned.²⁹

By all the stone records referred to above, it is evident that Sōmēśvara III had under his command Palnad and other nearby areas by 1129 A.D. and subdued the Vēṅgi country only by 1131 A.D. The Velanāṭi Chōḍas had to acknowledge the Western Chālukyan suzerainty as it is known from an inscription at Bapatla dated 1131 A.D.³⁰ After 1133 A.D. and the Chālukya Vikrama era 58, the records dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era are not so common in Āndhradeśa.

In the last years of the rule of Vikrama Chōḷa, his feudatories, the Velanāṭi Chōḷas wanted to throw off their allegiance with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The Velanāṭi chief

Gonka, the son of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa, who had been previously captured by Gōvinda Daṇḍanāyaka,³¹ seemed to have escaped from the hands of the Western Chālukyas. Probably the Velanāṭi chiefs sought the military help of Vikrama Chōḍa. This can be attested by the gift of lamps at Srikalahasti by Vikrama Chōḷa, Chōḍa II, Gonka II, and his brother-in-law dated in the 12th regnal year of Vikrama Chōḷa.³² Vikrama Chōḷa sent his son Kulōttunga II to conquer Veṅgī region from the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. In this task, he was helped by the Velanāṭi Chōḍa chiefs—Chōḍa and Gonka and the Kōṭas,³³ Kaṇḍravāḍi and the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs. The Velanāṭi Chōḍa chief Gonka seemed to have led the campaign against the Chālukyas as is evidenced by his records.³⁴ A record from Nādeṇḍla dated in the year 1137 A.D.³⁵ mentions Gonka's fight with the armies of Gaudas and Kuntalas and his victory over the latter. The Kuntalas were no other than the armies of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. In another record, Gonka is said to have vanquished the great generals of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. This record dated in 1140 A.D. records the victories of Gonka over Govinda and Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyakas.³⁶ In a record of 1142 A.D. from Drākṣārāma,³⁷ Gonka claims to have defeated the lord of Kuntala with the sword in his hand. This lord of Kuntala can well be identified with Sōmeśvara III, the Western Chālukyan ruler. In an undated record³⁸ from Drākṣārāma Sōmeśvara III is mentioned as *Kuntalādhipati* (Lord of Kuntala). The battle between the Chālukya-Chōḷa armies and the Western Chālukyan armies seemed to have taken place on the banks of river Gōdāvarī. This is amply testified by the information provided in a stone record from Drākṣārāma dated in 1150 A.D.³⁹ This record furnishes valuable details regarding the locality and the presence of Sōmeśvara on the battle field, and states that the victory caused surprise to Gonka's lord Kulōttunga II, the son of Vikrama Chōḷa.

By the information given above, it is clear that the Velanāṭi chief Gonka fought a battle on the banks of the river Gōdāvarī and put to flight the armies of the king of Kuntala,

after exterminating his famous generals Gōvindarasa and Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, and captured a rich booty in gold and horses and camels.⁴⁰

When Veṅgi was under political turmoil by the occupation and retreat of the Western Chālukyan armies, an Eastern Chālukyan prince Vishṇuvardhana, probably lord of Niravadyapura (which can be identified with the modern Nidadavole), crowned himself as the king of Veṅgi and assumed Imperial titles.⁴¹ His coronation took place in Śaka 1046 corresponding to 1124 A.D. or 1125 A.D.⁴² By an inscription dated in Śaka 1067 (1145 A.D.) found at Rajahmundry it appears that he was soon subjugated and pardoned.⁴³ Yet another prince Vijayāditya, lord of Piṭhāpuram and a descendant of Kanṭhika Bēta, crowned himself as king of Veṅgi and assumed the Imperial Chālukyan title *Sarvalōkāśraya* (Refuge of the whole World) Śriviṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja.⁴⁴ His coronation took place on the 14th February, 1128 A.D.⁴⁵ He was the son of Mallapadēva II and his mother was Chandalladēvi, the daughter of Kolanu Brahmarāja, probably a sister of *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Kolanu Bhīmarāja the lord of Sāgara *Vishaya* whom the Tamil inscriptions refer to as Telunga Bhīman.⁴⁶ After a short time, Vijayāditya seemed to have been defeated and reduced to submission and restored to his principality by the Velanāṭi chief Gonka II.

There are reasons to confirm that some of the powerful Kshatriya vassals in Veṅgi openly welcomed and joined the Western Chālukyan armies. Foremost among the rebels who welcomed the invaders was probably *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Kolanu Bhīma Nāyaka, the Haihaya ruler of Kolanu *vishaya*, or Sāgara *vishaya* (lake region) which was another name for the region round the Kollēru lake. Kolanu Bhīma might have thus acted in Śaka 1053 corresponding to 1131 A.D. which was the 13th year of Vikrama Chōḷa's reign.⁴⁷ This success over the rebel chief of the Chālukya-Chōḷas paved the way for the final victory of Velanāṭi chief Gonka II who led the campaign against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. This facilitated the armies of the Chālukya-Chōḷas to exterminate the enemies and to put

an end to the Western Chālukyan occupation and restore the sovereignty of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Vēṅgi by about 1135 A.D.

The Velanāṭi chief Gonka II had the title—*siddhibēta chīrpuli hariṇa mrigēndra*.⁴⁸ It means “a lion to the deer Siddhibēta of Chirpuli”. Probably, Gonka II slew a certain Siddhibēta and acquired the title. It would appear that Siddhibēta was a Telugu Chōḍa prince of Chirpuli in Renadu and a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.⁴⁹ Chirpuli known as Chippili today is an obscure village in Chittoor District lying within a distance of 2 miles from Madanapalli. Probably, this victory was achieved by Gonka II in extending the kingdom towards the south,⁵⁰ or in attacking the armies of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.

In the restoration of the Chālukya-Chōla suzerainty in Āndhradēśa, the Velanāṭi Chōḍas were greatly helped by their contemporary subsidiary dynasties ruling in several parts of Āndhradēśa. According to an inscription from Chēbrōlu⁶¹ dated in 1118 A.D., a certain Sūrana of the Viśvakarma (Goldsmiths’) community served the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief Eṇṇamaṇḍa, who owed allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōlas. Sūrana as a general of the army rendered meritorious service to king Eṇṇamaṇḍa in checking the Western Chālukya depredations of his territory. According to a Velanāḍu inscription⁶² dated 1132 A.D. (Śaka 1054) Kāpa, lord of Tūmbarti was in the service of Eṇṇamaṇḍa, and at his command defeated the enemy kings at Mannēru and was rewarded with the title *maṇḍana gandhavāraṇa* (Controller of War Elephants) and lordship of Tumbarru and Atukur. In the battle of Gōḍavārī, Kulōttunga II son of Vikrama Chōḍa was helped by Velanāṭi chief Gonka II, prince Rājendra Chōḍa, Gonka’s maternal uncle, and general Māraya Paṇḍa.⁶³

Though it is certain by the records of Gonka II that the battle between the Chālukya-Chōlas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi was fought on the banks of river Gōḍavārī, there is no

concrete evidence regarding the date of this battle. It seems that the Western Chālukyan armies were supported by Haihayas of Palnad, Kōnasīma, Telugu Pallavas and the armies of Lata and Marata rulers. The inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas in Āndhradēśa are dated upto the 58th year of Chālukya Vikrama era and in the years upto Śaka 1057 (1135 A.D.). These were the last vestiges of the Western Chālukyan rule in Āndhradēśa.

Owing to the strenuous efforts of Vikrama Chōḷa, the formidable enemies of the Chālukya-Chōḷas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, lost their possession in Āndhradēśa. He re-established the Chālukya-Chōḷa supremacy with the alliance of several Andhra feudatories in the Vēṅgi country. This is shown by the prevalence of their inscriptions in the regions of Vēṅgi. On the whole, the reign of Vikrama Chōḷa appears to be peaceful, and his efforts to recover the lost possessions in Āndhradēśa met with success.

Vikrama Chōḷa's contemporary on the Ganga throne was Anantavarma Chōḷaganga entitled *Trikalīṅgādhipati* (Lord of three Kālīṅgas) who had a long reign from 1078 to 1148 A.D. Like Vikramāditya VI, Anantavarma Chōḷaganga took advantage of the comparatively weak political situation of Vēṅgi, after Vikrama Chōḷa had left Vēṅgi for Tanjore to ascend the Chōḷa throne. In an inscription from Srikurmam dated 1135 A.D., Anantavarma claims to have conquered and annexed the territory beyond the river Gōdāvarī.⁵⁴ It has been suggested that soon after the death of Vikramāditya VI Anantavarma Chōḷaganga probably took the country upto the Gōdāvarī, i.e. the Southern Kālīṅga comprising Vizagapatam and East Godavari districts. It is likely that Vikramāditya VI influenced the Kālīṅga wars and the consequent rebellions against the Chōḷas and their feudatories. Probably this might have encouraged the Kālīṅga expansion into Vēṅgi. Chōḷaganga's records are at Drākṣārāma of the year 1128 A.D. Probably, in that year he and his queens visited Drākṣārāma and made gifts of lamps to Lord Bhīmeśvara.⁵⁵ By this time, the Chōḷas

and the Velanāḍus were recovering the tracts in the north of the Gōdāvarī which they later lost to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Probably at this juncture, Maṇḍa II, the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief, came into conflict with the armies of Anantavarma Chōḍaganga. In the battle at Drākṣārāma, Maṇḍa II distinguished himself by routing the enemy and capturing their elephants, which he presented to his overlord Rājendra Chōḷa, i.e., Vikrama Chōḷa who must have been present at the battle then. In the inscriptions of Maṇḍa it is described thus : "Having torn up like a mound the army of the Ganga of Kaḷiṅga, having consumed like straw the warriors of the bold enemy, and having cut off (like) lotuses their heads—the mighty rutting elephant *Māṇḍalika* Maṇḍa is roaming. Having defeated the army of the enemy, he gave to Rājendra Chōḍa mighty elephants which had been captured there and whose temples were bright with rut."⁵⁶ Probably this was the defensive war led by Vikrama Chōḷa and Chōḍa I of the Velanāḍus in which the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief Maṇḍa II, who was a subordinate of the Chōḷas, played a leading role. Probably he held his sway over the tract from 1128 A.D. and continued it till 1135 A.D., when all signs of foreign domination were put to an end by the powerful Velanāṭi chief Gonka II and the Chālukya-Chōḷa suzerain Vikrama Chōḷa. As Vikrama Chōḷa and Gonka II checked the power of the Western Chālukyas in Āndhradeśa about 1135 A.D., the claim of Anantavarma to have conquered the three quarters⁵⁷ appeared to be a boast rather than a fact, for he could never effect a virtual conquest and annex it to his empire.⁵⁸

Thus Vikrama Chōḷa, in his short reign. i.e., from 1118 to 1132-33 A.D., freed the Southern Āndhradeśa from the yoke of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Eastern Gangas of Kaḷiṅga with the support of his Andhra feudatories.

Vikrama Chōḷa was succeeded by his son Kulōttunga II to the Chālukya-Chōḷa throne. The Chellūru copper plate grant of Kulōttunga II,⁵⁹ dated in Śaka 1056 corresponding to 1134 A.D., points to the beginning of his rule in that year. He was a great warrior, and as a prince he participated in the

Gōdāvarī battle by which he exterminated the armies of the Western Chālukyas. The extent of the Chālukya-Chōla empire was maintained as it was at the close of his father's reign. The Chellūru copper plate⁶⁰ record shows that the restoration of the Chōla suzerainty in the north, after its temporary eclipse by the spread of the Western Chālukyan rule, was complete and stable. The inscriptions of Kulōttunga II in the Andhra area are more numerous than those of his father. Almost all the Andhra feudatories in Krishna and Guntur districts acknowledged his suzerainty and dated their inscriptions in his regnal years. By this it can be reasonably supposed that the political situation was not serious, for the Chālukya-Chōla rulers continued to assert their sovereignty considerably.⁶¹ Though his inscriptions in Andhra are noticed from Śaka 1056 (1134 A.D.), none of his inscriptions are available in Drākṣārāma from that year. In addition, the Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala dated their records in the Chālukya-Vikrama era which indicates that this region was still under the aegis of the Chālukyas of Kalyani, and the Haihaya chiefs of Kōna had to acknowledge their authority. The Chōla supremacy was restored in the southern half of Vāṅgi soon after the death of Vikramāditya VI i.e., 1127 A.D., and the evidence from inscriptions bearing Chōla regnal years is plentiful; still the restoration of Chōla supremacy in the northern half was delayed by a dozen years, till 1139 A.D. in spite of the best efforts of the Chōlas and their subordinate rulers in the areas. The records upto 1138 A.D. dated in Chōla regnal years were all from other parts of Vēṅgi;⁶² and there are none from Drākṣārāma. The first Drākṣārāma record of his reign is dated in 1138 A.D. and in the 7th year.⁶³ The authority and prestige of the subordinate chiefs of the Chālukya-Chōlas had greatly increased soon after the Gōdāvarī battle. Since the demise of Kulōttunga I in 1118 A.D., the Chālukya-Chōla emperors did not send out viceroys. They entrusted the rule of Āndhradēśa to their local subordinates conceding them full autonomy. The Chālukya-Chōla rulers did not interfere with the internal affairs of the *māṇḍalikas*. They were not involved in the internicine warfare among the *māṇḍalikas*. Hence the *māṇḍalikas* began to rule *de facto*,

the Andhra country owing only formal subordination to the Chālukya-Chōla rulers.

According to a Drākṣārāma inscription,⁶⁴ Kulōttunga II having been pleased by the military services of Gonka II—who was till then the commander-in-chief and ruler of the *triśatōttara śaṭṣaśrāvanī viśaya* (the region of 6,300 villages) on the southern bank of the Krishna river—raised him to the rulership of the Andhra country. In the numerous inscriptions found at Nidubrolu⁶⁵ and Drākṣārāma⁶⁶ and other places, Velanāṭi Gonkarāya II is stated to have vanquished the lords of Marata, Lata, Karnata, Kuntala, Andhra and Trikaṭiṅga and occupied the Andhra country with *sāmrājya chihnaiḥ* (Insignia of a Paramount Sovereign). The same information is also borne out by a Telugu poetic piece of *Kēyūrabāhu-charitramu* written by Manchana.⁶⁷ By this, it is clear that the Velanāṭi chiefs became the rulers of the whole of the Coastal Andhra districts. The Chālukya-Chōla rulers were mostly preoccupied with the affairs of the Chōla kingdom. Hence it is reasonable to suggest that they interfered in the affairs of Vēṅgi country only during the times of invasions from outside.

Although the Velanāṭi Chōḍas became the rulers and masters of Vēṅgi *maṇḍala* by the favour of the Chālukya-Chōla overlords, their strength was not enough to command allegiance from the rest of the *māṇḍalikas*. The appointment of the Velanāṭi Chōḍas as their representatives in the Andhra region by the Chālukya-Chōla rulers was not consented to by the *māṇḍalikas* ruling in the central parts of Āndhradēśa. These *māṇḍalikas* owed their allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōla overlords, which can be attested by their records dated in the regnal years of the contemporary Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttunga II.⁶⁸ But they did not accept the authority of the Velanāṭi Chōḍas in Āndhradēśa. The attempts of the Velanāṭis to impose their authority over the rest of the *māṇḍalikas* usually resulted in revolts in the country. Probably, having this in mind the Velanāṭi Chōḍas had contracted alliances with the Kōṭa chiefs, the Haihayas of

Palnad, and the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chieftains. The Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Chōḍa, son of Gonka II married Ankama the sister of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddharāja.⁶⁹ This position is further confirmed by the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithviśvara,⁷⁰ and a fragmentary stone inscription at Bapatla⁷¹ suggesting that Buddharāja's sister Akkāmbika or Akkama or Ankama was the wife of the Velanāṭi Chief Kulōttunga. Rājendra Chōḍa. The daughter of the Velanāḍu chief Gonkarāja II, Mailāmba, was given in marriage to the Haihaya chief of Palnād, Anugurāja.⁷² The Kōṭas and Velanāḍu Chōḍas were on terms of political alliance strengthened by marriage alliances. Sabbama, wife of Kōṭa Bhīmarāja was the daughter of Chōḍa II and sister of Gonka II. This fact is borne by a number of Kōṭa and Velanāḍu inscriptions.

In this period the Andhra country was parcelled off among the feudatories exercising *de facto* control over territories which did not extend beyond a modern district. If the imperial policy of Chālukya-Chōlas created the Velanāṭi chiefs, the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs, and the Kōṭa chiefs, the imperial policy of the Western Chālukyas necessitated helping the Haihaya rulers in the Gōḍāvarī delta and Palnād. The Telugu Chōḍa rulers, tracing their descent from Karikāla Chōla, rose in Kammanāḍu⁷³ of Nellore and Cuddapah⁷⁴ tracts. In this period, the Telugu Chōlas of Konidena (Kammanāḍu) occupied a place next to the Velanāṭi Chōḍas and had their capital at Konidena (Kotyadona) in Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur District.⁷⁵ Even though they were the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyani in the beginning, they became the feudatories of the Chālukya-Chōla rulers soon after the retreat of the Chālukyan armies from Āndhradeśa. Later, they seemed to have become independent. Tribhuvanamalladeva Chōḍamahārāja was the contemporary of the Velanāṭi chief Gonka II. According to an inscription at Bapatla dated 1150 A.D., Tribhuvanamalla is mentioned as the ruler of Kammanāḍu, Gaṇḍikarṇu and Moṭṭavāḍe.⁷⁶

During this period, internecine warfare among the

māṇḍalikas was the common feature. The Velanāṭi Chōlas had to fight with the other *māṇḍalikas* to maintain their authority. There is a possibility to state that Gonka II had brought under his sway the Telugu Chōlas of Koṇidena. This can be amply attested by the records of the period. An inscription at Koṇidena dated in 1137 A.D. states that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kāmachōḍa Mahārāja of Kammanāḍu⁷⁷ granted the *suṃka* at the rate of one *peruka* per *gadyāna* of salt in the fields of Pedda Gunjam, Kaḍakuduru, Kūravāda, Vāyurṃdoṛṛu and Chinna Ganjam etc., all situated in that territory. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kāmachōḍa Mahārāja was the father of Tribhuvanamalla Chōḍadēva of Koṇidena. Another record, dated in the 15th regnal year of Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva II and 1148 A.D. registers, the gift of gold derived from the sale of salt to Lord Ballisvaradēva of Kotyadona by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalladēva Chōḍa Mahārāja and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kulōttunga Chōḍa Mahārāja.⁷⁸ Since, in the two inscriptions referred to above, the same fields of salt were mentioned, it seems quite reasonable to assume that Velanāṭi Gonka II had brought Kammanāḍu under his sway. The records of the Velanāṭi chiefs in Kammanāḍu in this period, support this statement.⁷⁹

In this connection, the affairs of Kolanuvīḍu should be observed. The Kolanumāṇḍalikas ruled over Kolanuvishaya with capital at Sarasīpura, i.e., modern Ellore in West Godavari district. Generally, Kolani, or Kolanimāṇḍalika, is prefixed to the name of the rulers. At the time of the Western Chālukyan occupation of the Andhra regions, Rājendra Chōḍa alias Okkettugaṇḍa was ruling in the Kolanu region.⁸⁰ The name Rājendra Chōḍa suggests that he was a subordinate of the Chālukya-Chōlas. His earliest inscription is from Juttiga dated 1125 A.D. (Saka 1047),⁸¹ mentioning him as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kolani Okkettugaṇḍa. His only other record is from Drākṣārāma dated 1132 A.D., and in Chālukya Vikrama era 57.⁸² It mentions him as Okkettugaṇḍa, the lord of Saras, and named him as Rājendra Chōḍa. Nothing is known of him after 1132 A.D., because of the paucity of the records. Probably he might have continued to rule upto 1135

A.D., as his successor Kāṭamanāyaka's earliest record is dated in 1135 A.D.

The contemporary of Kulōttunga II in Kolanu region was Kāṭamanāyaka. His relationship with Okkettugaṇḍa is not known clearly. His earliest record is from Elurpadu⁸³ dated in 1135 A.D., mentioning him as *bhujabalabhīma* (Bhīma in prowess) Kāṭamanāyaka, the lord of Sarasīpura in Vēṅgiṃaṇḍala, and comparing him with Kārtavīrya and Abhimanyu. The successors of Kāṭamanāyaka were known as Kolanināyakas and Kolanimāṇḍalikas. As their inscriptions were found in Eluru, Tanuku, Attili and Bhimavaram, of the present day West Godavari district, probably this district might have been under the authority of the Kolani *Māṇḍalikas*. As there is no reference to the genealogy of this dynasty in any of the records of the family, the relationship between one ruler and the other is unknown. But, as the records are dated in the Śaka years, the chronology of the dynasty can be established. During the reign of Kulōttunga II, Kolani Kāṭamanāyaka, who is otherwise known as the *daṇḍādhinātha* (Supreme Commander) Kāṭa,⁸⁴ was the lord of Sarasīpura. According to the Chellūru copper plate record issued during the reign of Kulōttunga II in Śaka 1056, Kāṭama Nāyaka granted the *agrahāra* village called Maṇḍadorru together with the village of Poṇḍuvagrāma in the Attili country to a number of learned Brahmins. According to Prof. Kielhorn,⁸⁵ the Śaka date 1056 of the record is wrong and the correct date of the record falls in Śaka 1065 which corresponds to 24th March, 1143 A.D.

During the last years of Kulōttunga II, the Haihayas of Kōṇasīma (deltaic region)⁸⁶ tried to extend their dominions. From the beginning they became the feudatories of Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi; and soon after the departure of the Western Chālukyan armies, the Haihayas of Kōṇamaṇḍala tried to rule their regions independently.⁸⁷ After the death of Rājendra Chōḍa I,⁸⁸ his two brothers, Mummaḍi Bhīma and *Satyāśraya* or *Satyarājāditya*, (Refuge of truth or Sun king of truth) Chōḍagangu, ruled Kōṇamaṇḍala conjointly. Two records of Satya I dated in 1150 A.D. come from Drākṣārāma.⁸⁹ In one

of them, the suzerain's name is lost, and both are dated in the 17th regnal years of Kulōttunga Chōladēva, i.e., Kulōttunga II. It seems that the Velanāḍus and Kōna Haihayas were on friendly terms during the reign of Bhīma III and Satya I who ruled from 1135 to 1150 A.D.

Bhīma and Satya I were succeeded by Lōkabhūpāla⁹⁰ and Bhīma III⁹¹ who ruled conjointly from 1150 to 1168 A.D. Lōka and Bhīma were the greatest of the Kōna Haihaya dynasty. They owed loyalty to the Chōlas and started on a career of conquest and annexation and attempted to throw off the allegiance with the Velanāḍus. Probably, in extending their dominions, they might have invaded the neighbouring region where Mallarāja of Eastern Chālukyan line was ruling at that time. Perhaps, Mallarāja might have been dead in the battle, as there are no records of his after 1149 A.D. The record of the Kōna Lōkarāja at Bapatla,⁹² dated 1150 A.D., indicates the advance of the armies of the Haihayas into the Guntur district. Even though there is no evidence of the direct conflict of Gonka II with Lōkarāja, it is probable that the advance of the armies of the Haihayas was checked by Gonka II and his armies. This inference can be drawn from the fact that no attempts were made by Lōkabhūpa of any conquests into the Velanāḍu country so long as Gonka II lived.

The reign of Kulōttunga II was completely filled with victorious campaigns. All parts of Andhra region were brought under the command of the Chālukya-Chōla rulers. Even though there was no effective authority of the Chālukya-Chōla kings or their representatives the Velanāṭi chiefs, almost all the *māṇḍalikas* showed respect for the Imperial Chālukya-Chōlas by dating their records in the regnal years of their suzerains and mentioning the name of the Chālukya-Chōla emperors. The last-known record of Kulōttunga II dated in his 17th regnal year⁹³ corresponding to Śaka 1072 (1150 A.D.), is found at Drākṣārāma. From the same place, there is a record of his son and successor Rājarāja II dated in his⁹⁴ 4th regnal year corresponding to Śaka 1072. By observing the

two records referred to above, it is evident that Kulōttunga II died probably in Śaka 1072 (1150 A.D.). Thus the reign of Kulōttunga II came to an end after 15 years of his accession, extending from 1136 to 1150 A.D. This can be well-attested by many of his stone inscriptions showing his regnal years recorded in Andhra country and his Tamil inscriptions. This tallies with the evidence furnished by the Naṇḍūru copper plate grant which ascribed him a rule of about 15 years.⁹⁵

Rājarāja II was the son of Kulōttunga II. This fact is borne out clearly by the Naṇḍūru copper plate record of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa.⁹⁶ He seemed to have come to the throne even during the life time of Kulōttunga II. Probably, he was coronated as a crown prince in 1145-46 A.D.⁹⁷ As the records of the several *māṇḍalikas* mention his name and regnal years till the end of his reign,⁹⁸ i.e., upto 1173 A.D., it is evident that the authority of the Chālukya-Chōla rulers continued in Āndhradeśa during his reign. But, in his time the authority of the Chōlas in Chōlaṃaṇḍala was itself challenged and restricted by the rising Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. The extent of the Chōla empire has been reduced considerably in his reign. And their authority in Cuddapah and Chittoor districts receded upto Rajampeta and Kalahasti taluks towards the north. The Telugu Chōḍas became prominent in this period not only in Āndhradeśa but also in the Tamil country. Several branches, belonging to the Telugu Chōḍas of Pottapi had established themselves in the region of Nellore and Cuddapah districts and ruled as independent chieftains. The Telugu Chōḍa rule extended into Kāñchi for a while and their influence into the heart of the Tamil land.⁹⁹ Karikala is considered to be the originator of the Pottapi and Nellore Chōlas. The Koṇidena record of Opilisiddhi II dated 1224 A.D. gives the complete genealogy of the line.¹⁰⁰ Securing peace and order in the Coastal Andhra districts became the chief responsibility of the Velanāṭi Chōlas, as the Chālukya-Chōla rulers were entirely pre-occupied with the affairs of the Chōlaṃaṇḍala.

During the reign of Rājarāja II, Velanāṭi chief Gonka II

undertook an expedition against South Kaṭiṅga. The reasons for this invasion are not clearly known. The Eastern Ganga ruler Anantavarma Chōḍaganga and Kāmārṇava were the contemporaries of Velanāṭi Gonka II. Kāmārṇava was also known as Anantavarman and Anantavarman Madhukāmārṇava and also as Jatēśvaradēva. Probably Gonka II came into conflict with the Gangas in extending the bounds of his kingdom into Kaṭiṅga. According to an inscription of Gonka II dated 1132 A.D., he advanced as far as Cuttack and inflicted a defeat on Anantavarman and his uncle Paṇḍa and was praised in the courts of all kings, but it omits Cuttack.¹⁰¹ As attested by the inscription of Gonka II, his expeditions into Kaṭiṅga continued. An inscription from Nādeṇḍla¹⁰² dated 1143 A.D. records the victories of Gonka II over the lord of Cuttack, Anantavarman. According to a record from Drākṣārāma,¹⁰³ he is said to have vanquished the lord of Kaṭiṅga and kept golden vessels on the temples of Srisailam and Puri. From two records¹⁰⁴ at Drākṣārāma dated 1150 A.D. and 1154 A.D., it is clear that, as a result of his successes in Kaṭiṅga, Gonka claims to have ruled over the country between the Sētu and the Narmada, and that the kings between Srisailam and Mahēndragiri were all subordinates to him. Thus, the victory of the Velanāṭis over the Kaṭiṅga region is well attested by a number of stone records in Andhra country. Further, it is corroborated by a record at Simhāchalam dated in the 5th regnal year of the Chālukya-Chōla ruler Rajaraja II, corresponding to 1150-51 A.D.¹⁰⁵

Though the Velanāṭis were victorious in their campaigns against Kaṭiṅga, the region towards east was not free of troubles. The Eastern Chālukyas of Bēta Vijayāditya line¹⁰⁶ were ruling in this tract. Whenever an opportunity came they tried to throw off their allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōla overlords and tried to become independent. This often resulted in rebellions in this region. From the time of Mallapadēva II, son of Vijayāditya II, great efforts were made in freeing the territory from the yoke of the Chālukya-Chōlas. In this regard, his matrimonial alliance with the Haihaya rulers of Sagara-vishaya¹⁰⁷ greatly helped him. But his efforts

were not complete until the reign of his son Vijayāditya III. With the help of the neighbouring chiefs and the Haihayas of Sagara-vishaya, Vijayāditya III was able to re-establish his kingdom in 1158 A.D. (Śaka 1079). He coronated himself in that year, having his capital at Pithapur.¹⁰⁸ Hence, his successors were known as the Chālukyas of Pithapur.

In the year following the accession of Vijayāditya III to the throne, i.e., in 1159 A.D. (Śaka 1080), there is a record of Inangala Brahmireḍḍi, a minister of Kākatiya chief Rudradēva, at Drākṣārāma¹⁰⁹ dated in the 13th regnal year of the Chālukya-Chōla ruler Rājarāja II. As the name of Rājarāja II and his regnal year are mentioned in the record, it is probable that the Kākatiya chief Rudradēva was a friend to Rājarāja II, or it is likely that it was the custom of the engravers of the records of the period to mention the name and regnal years of the ruler of the country. This is the first record of Rudradēva in Drākṣārāma. The reasons for his visit into his region are not clearly known. Probably this might be to offer help to Vijayāditya III. From the records of Gonka II and his successors, it appears that the Velanāḍus had a victory¹¹⁰ over the lord of Andhra and his son Chōḍa II bore the epithet 'Kākati Prōlanirdhana' (Vanquisher of Kākati Prōla). Probably a decisive battle must have taken place at Drākṣārāma between the Velanāḍus on one side and the Chālukyas of Pithāpur and Kākatiyas on the other. Even though the Velanāḍus claimed to have been successful in killing Prōla II and defeating the armies of the Kākatiyas, it seems that they were not successful in imposing their authority over the Chālukyas of Pithāpur and in the region of Drākṣārāma. This is evident from the absence of the records of the Velanāḍu Chōlas in Drākṣārāma after 1158 A.D. Hence, it can be reasonably supposed that the Chālukyas of Pithāpur were able to hold their sway in this region after 1150 A.D.

The Telugu Chōḍas did not remain loyal to the authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas soon after the death of Tribhuvanamalladēva Chōḍa. Tribhuvanamalladēva Chōḍamahārāja was succeeded by his sons, Nannechōḍa¹¹¹ and Kannaradēva-

chōḍa.¹¹² Nannechōḍa II, the eldest son of Tribhuvana-mallachōḍa does not seem to have owed allegiance to Rājarāja II of the Chālukya-Chōḷas. Probably, for this reason, the Velanāṭi chief Gonka II undertook an expedition against the Telugu Chōḍas of Konidena to bring them under his subjection. Perhaps during the last years of the rule of Gonka II, Nannechōḍa II and Kannaradēva Chōḍa had to face the strong forces of Gonka II and his son Rājendra Chōḍa at Kanchervulakōṭa. This corresponds to the modern Pedda Kancherla in Vinukonda taluk of Guntur district. As there is an inscription here belonging to Kannaradēva Chōḍa¹¹³ dated 1159 A.D., it can be ascertained that the battle took place in that year. According to an inscription at Timmapuram¹¹⁴ in Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur district dated Śaka 1083 (1161 A.D.). Kāmaya son of Chokkama, a dancing girl in the temple of Paṇḍiśvaradēva at Chandolu, showed his valour in the battle in defeating the armies of Gaṇapati and died in the battle. His brother Saraṇaya was successful in driving out Chandavarāya and armies of the enemies upto the sea coast. The record states that the Velanāṭi chiefs, Gonka II and Rājendra Chōḍa, were very much pleased with the military services of Kāmaya and Saraṇaya. It is difficult to identify the two persons—Gaṇapati and Chandavarāya whom Kāmaya and Saraṇaya defeated in the battle. They might be the military officials or the friends of Nannichōḍa and Kannaradēvachōḍa. Gonka II had gifted away the village Jeevaram in Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi country to Saraṇaya, having been pleased with his loyal military services. Saraṇaya built a temple for the merit of his lord Gonka II, and installed the image of Lord Śiva and named it as Lord Gonkēśvaradēva after his master's name. He also got tanks dug and gifted away lands to the temple.¹¹⁵ In the battle of Kanchervulakōṭa the Konidena chief, Kannaradēvachōḍa seemed to have been vanquished by Jilla Bōya, a servant of Velanāṭi Chōḍa and a resident of the village Kroyyūru.¹¹⁶ With the defeat of Nannichōḍa II and Kannarachōḍa in the battle, all their lands, i.e., Kammanāḍu and Gundikarru and Mottavade, came under the authority of the Velanāṭi Chōḷas. The Telugu Chōḍas of Konidena became the feudatories of the Velanāṭi Chōḷas.

Having been pleased by the valorous deeds of Jilla Bōya, the Velanāṭi chief made him as a *daṇḍanāyaka*. An inscription found at Errabālem in Guntur district dated 1167 A.D. records the gift of a village free of all taxes to the *mahājanas* of Undavelli by Jilla Bōya.¹¹⁷ Velanāṭi Rājēndrachōḍa made the brother of Jilla Bōya, Nārapanāyaka a *sēnāpati* (commander) and the lord of Divi region.¹¹⁸ The successors of Jilla Bōya and Nārapanāyaka became the loyal feudatories of the Velanāṭi chiefs and supported staunchly the rule and authority of the Velanāḍus in Āndhradeśa.

Like the Telugu Chōḍas of Kammanāḍu, the rulers of Pākanāḍu also tried to defy the authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas whenever the opportunity arose. The Telugu Chōḍas of Pākanāḍu acted according to the political situation in Āndhradeśa and tried to become independent. Probably for this reason, the Velanāṭi Chōlas undertook a campaign against them to establish their authority completely. Velanāṭi Gonka II and his son Rājēndra Chōḍa participated in this campaign against the Telugu Chōḍas of Pākanāḍu. In this battle, the Velanāṭi chiefs seem to have been allied with the neighbouring *maṇḍalikas* who owed allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōla rulers such as the chiefs of Īvani Kaṇḍravādis and the Kōṭa chiefs. In an inscription, the Īvani Kaṇḍravādi chief Kanta is described as an enemy of Siddhi of Nellore.¹¹⁹ This Siddhi is undoubtedly the Telugu Chōḍa king Siddhi, the uncle of Dāya Bhīma I and the elder brother of Betta. One of his records dated 1159 A.D. is found at Dongalasani village in Cuddapah district mentioning him as Bhujabalavīra Nalla Siddhanadēva Chōḍa Mahārāja of Nellore.¹²⁰ The Kōṭa chief who claimed victories over the Telugu Chōḍas was Dodḍa Bhīmarāya.¹²¹ Dodḍa Bhīmarāya had such epithets as : *Siddhichōḍa mriga sārḍūlu* (Tiger to the Deer of Siddhichōḍa), *Mallayachōḍa mastaka sūla* (Lance to the Head of Mallaya Chōḍa). etc.¹²² This Mallayachōḍa over whom Kōṭa Dodḍa Bhīmarāya claims victories was the king of the province Pottapināḍu.¹²³ Nallasiddha Chōla of Nellore, over whom the Kaṇḍravādi chief Kanta claims victories; seems to have defeated the Pottapichōlas. According to his Dongalasani epigraph, he

was victorious over Mallidēva and Sōmēśvara, the rulers of Pottapi.¹²⁴ Hence, it is clear that the victory of Kōṭa Doḍḍa Bhīmarāya was on Mallidēva of Pottapināḍu. Another *māṇḍalika* who claims victories over Mallidēva and Siddhichōḍa was Rāchūri Dāraparāju, a feudatory of Rājarāja II, and dated his record in the king's 21st year corresponding to 1166 A.D.¹²⁵ Like the Kōṭa chief Doḍḍa Bhīmarāya, he had several similar epithets such as *Uriyabēta matta mātangasingha* (Lion to the Elephant, i.e., Uriyabeta), *Siddhichōḍa mriga śārdūla* (Tiger to the Deer, i.e., Siddhichōḍa), *chīḍpuli vadhū-mangala sūtraharaṇa* (Wrester of Sacred Thread to the Brides of Chidpuli), *Buddha kula kuddāla* (Extincter of Buddha Family), *Siddachōḍa Mastakasūla*, *Mallachōḍa mastaka sūla*)¹²⁶ (Lance to the Heads of Siddhichōḍa and Mallachōḍa), etc. By the combined efforts of the several *māṇḍalikas* in Āndhradēśa, the Velanāṭi expedition against the Telugu Chōḍa rulers was successful. According to an inscription of Gonka II,¹²⁷ he ruled the country between Mukhalingam and Nellore. There are no records of Gonka II in Āndhradēśa after (Śaka 1083) 1161 A.D. His latest records are from Chirumāmilla¹²⁸ and Timmāpuram¹²⁹ dated 1161 A.D. Velanāṭi Gonka II was succeeded by his son Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍarāju in 1163 A.D. Like his father, he was a distinguished warrior and participated in several wars such as the battle of Krochchervula Kōṭa, in the battle of Pākanāḍu, etc., even during the life-time of his father. His records appear at several places in Āndhradēśa from 1163 A.D.¹³⁰

As soon as Rājendra Chōḍa came to the Velanāṭi, throne he appointed his minister and general Kommana Preggaḍa, the son of Govinda Preggaḍa, as the ruler of Pākanāḍu 21,000.¹³¹ In the initial years of the rule of Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa, the political situation in the Gōḍāvarī delta became critical. Vijayāditya III, the Eastern Chāḷukya king of Pithapur, tried to assert his authority in the Malaya *māṇḍala*. Approximately Malaya¹³² corresponds to the modern Kovvur, Nidadavole, and part of Eluru taluks of the West Godavari district; and Rajahmundry probably formed the Eastern boundary of the Malaya kingdom. Malayamu or Malayamuna

is prefixed to the names of the rulers signifying the country over which they held sway. The Malaya family is said to have obtained regality from Rāmaabhaṭṭāraka of Sūrya *vaṃśa*. The early Malaya kings were subordinates to the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi.

The Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala and the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur were perhaps on friendly terms in this period. The establishment of an independent kingdom by the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur by Vijayāditya III in 1158 A.D. and the death of Gonka II in 1162, gave the Haihaya chiefs of Kōnamaṇḍala a good opportunity to defy the authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas. Foreseeing the political situation in Āndhradēśa, the Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala declared independence. Along with the Haihaya chiefs, the Kolanu rulers and the Uṇḍi chiefs,¹³³ who were the relatives of Haihayas, rebelled against the Velanāḍu chieftains. Probably to defeat the Uṇḍi chiefs, whose principality was located in the West Godavari district, Rājendra Chōḍa appointed his minister Dēvana Pregarāḍa, son of Amritālūri Manchirāju. In this expedition Dēvana Pregarāḍa attained victory and offered a gift of perpetual lamp to lord Bhīmēśvara at Drākṣārāma after his march against the Uṇḍi chiefs.¹³⁴ This record was dated in the 18th year of Rājarāja II, corresponding to Śaka 1085 (1163 A.D.).

There are no inscriptions of the Kolanu Nāyakas, after Kāṭama Nāyaka, upto 1194 A.D. But by the records of Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Chōḍa, it is evident that one Bhīmarāja was ruling the Kolanu Maṇḍala.¹³⁵ Nothing is known about Bhīma and his relationship with Kolanu Kāṭamanāyaka because of the paucity of records. In the records of the Velanāṭis,¹³⁶ this Bhīma was described as *dēvabrāhmaṇa kaṃṭaka khaluḍu* (Tormenter and Prick to Gods and Brahmins) and as a person having ferocious appearance and resembles Rāvana. From the Siripuram record¹³⁷ dated 1171 A.D., Chōḍa appears to have conquered Kolanu and killed there his arch enemy Bhīma. This is supported by the Nanduru copper plate grant issued by Rājendra Chōḍa dated 1169 A.D. which says that Chōḍa killed Bhīma of Kolanuviḍu.¹³⁸ According to the

copper plate record of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa, the operations against Kolanu were conducted by Rājendra Chōḍa, son of Gonka II. It seems that unable to oppose Rājendra Chōḍa in the open field, Kolanu Bhīma might have taken his position inside the famous *jaladurga* (water-fort) of *Kolanupura* or *Kollṛṭṭikōṭa* in the middle of the lake Kollēru. According to the copper plate record referred to above, Kolanu Bhīma was captured alive and was put to death along with all his sons and close relatives.¹³⁹ Regarding this achievement over Kolanu Bhīma, the Pithapuram inscription¹⁴⁰ of Prithviśvara gives a detailed description of the storming of Kolanupura. It is stated that the Velanāṭi caief Rājendra Chōḍa dried up the waters of the lake Kollēru, presumably by constructing causeway across the water reached the impregnable fortress, captured Bhīma, and killed him just as Rāghava killed Rāvana who terrified the worlds. The Naṇḍūru plates speak of Kolanu Bhīma as the most cruel and haughty person saturated with pride, and a man of massive strength and powers and fierce flame of body. All these evidences are corroborated by the Pithapuram pillar inscription¹⁴¹ which says that Chōḍa dried up the lake and killed Bhīma.

Soon after his victory over the Kolanu Nāyakas, Rājendra Chōḍa returned to his capital city Chandolu. He then wanted to punish the remaining rebel *māṇḍalikas*. Kōna king Lōkarāja seemed to have been subjugated by the Velanāḍu forces, for a subordinate of Rājendra Chōḍa II Prōlayanāyaka claimed to have killed Kōna Lōkarāja.¹⁴² The authority of the Velanāḍus was not fully imposed in Kōnamaṇḍala even after the death of its ruler Lōkarāja.¹⁴³ Because of the scantiness of the material, much is not known about the warfare between the Velanāḍus and the Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala. But it is evident that the Haihayas made another attempt to harass the Velanāḍus to avenge the death of Kōna Lōkarāja. It is probable that the armies of the Haihayas were led by Kōna Bhīmarāju and his relatives. In this battle also the Velanāḍus attained a decisive victory against the Haihayas as revealed by the record of a minister of Rājendra Chōḍa; Dēvana Preggaḍa, at Drākṣārāma dated in the year 1165 A.D.¹⁴⁴ After 1165 A.D.,

peaceful relations existed between the Velanāḍus and Kōṇa Haihayas. Thus the rebellions in Gōdāvārī delta were completely quelled by the Velanāṭi chiefs by which Haihayas lost much of their wealth and military strength. The later rulers of the Haihaya family were loyal to the Chālukya-Chōlas. Probably after subjugating the Haihayas of Kōṇa, the Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Chōḍa undertook another expedition against the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur and also against the Chālukya rulers in South Kaṭiṅga. In this campaign, the Velanāṭi chief attained glorious victory and subjugated the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur and South Kaṭiṅga. This can be estimated by a record of Prōliya Preggaḍa, a minister of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa at Śrīrāmapuram in Sarvasiddhi taluk in Visakhapatnam district, dated 1170 A.D.¹⁴⁵

Though the Velanāṭi Chōlas gained several victories over the *māṇḍalikas* in Andhra, the Chālukya Chōla kingdom was not free from the outside threats. About this time, there is a record of a Kākatiya ruler Rudradēvarāju in Drākṣārāma.¹⁴⁶ The Śaka date is missing in the record and is in the 23rd regnal year of Rājarāja II, corresponding to 1168 A.D. This inscription registers the gift of a perpetual lamp to Lord Bhīmeśvara by Dannamadēvi, wife of Rudradēvarāju.¹⁴⁷ Even though Rudradēva mentioned the name of the Chālukya-Chōla ruler dating his record in his reign, the presence of Kākatiya Rudradēva cannot be taken to be a friendly visit, because in the Anumakoṇḍa¹⁴⁸ record dated in Śaka 1084 (1162 A.D.) he mentioned the sea coast as the eastern border of his kingdom. By this expedition, Rudradēva did not appear to have got any permanent result as the series of inscriptions of the Chālukya-Chōlas and Velanāṭi Chōlas at Drākṣārāma speak of. In his trials to annex the coastal Andhra regions, Rudra took a forward step in making alliances with the Kōṭas and the Nātavāḍis, and thus strengthened his position in Āndhradeśa.

At this time occurred the political turmoil in the Western Chālukyan dominions. During the reign of Taila III, the Western Chālukyan power received a fatal blow from the

side of the Kākatiyas, their feudatories. The latest date of Tailapa III was 1161 A.D.¹⁴⁹ In 1162 A.D., Kalachūri Bijjala, the commander-in-chief and the most powerful man in the kingdom, usurped the throne. The Anumakoṇḍa Inscription of Rudradēva refers to the death of Taila III.¹⁵⁰ Bijjala attempted the usurpation from 1155 A.D. and succeeded in 1162 A.D. He assumed the full imperialistic *praśasti samastabhuvanāśraya* (Refuge of the whole World), *śrīprithivīvallabha* (Prosperous Lord of the Earth) *paramēśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. In 1167 A.D., Bijjala abdicated the throne in favour of Sōvidēva or Sōmēśvara¹⁵¹ and he ruled for about 10 years. During his reign, he sent an expedition against the Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Chōḍa. The armies of the Velanāṭi Chōḍas were led by Kommanāmātya,¹⁵² the minister of Rājendra Chōḍa. In this battle Kommana was assisted by Paḍavālu Gonka,¹⁵³ and his father Chōḍaya, and the Kōṭa chiefs. A great battle was fought at Krochchervulapuramu. This place was variously known as Krottacherla in the literary work *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu*.¹⁵⁴ The details of this war are known partly from the epigraphs of this period and partly from *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu*.¹⁵⁵ Krottacherla has been identified with the present day Kochcherla Kōṭa in Darsi taluk in Nellore district. In an inscription dated 1170 A.D. from Moparru in Tenali taluk of Guntur district, Paḍavālu Gonkaya is said to have vanquished 30,000 Karnāṭa troops.¹⁵⁶ Having been pleased with his valorous deeds in the battle field, Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa gifted him with some lands in the village Mōparru.¹⁵⁷ In this battle, probably *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāchūri Dāraparāju might also have participated. This is amply attested by his epithets such as *pommana daṇḍanāyaka kulachchēdaka* (Destroyer of the Family of Pommana), *Chaṇḍarāya chāṇūra murāntaka* (Killer of Chaṇḍarāya, who was like Chāṇūra), *Muppachōḍa mastakasūla* (Lance to the Head of Muppachōḍa), etc.¹⁵⁸ Probably Dāraparāju must have attained these titles as a result of the war at Krochcherlakōṭa. Chaṇḍarāya, who was slain in the battle of Krochcherlakōṭa, was a feudatory of the king of Karnata, who may be identified as the Sinda chief of Yelburga who was the husband of Siriyādēvi daughter of Bijjala.¹⁵⁹ Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa's record says that he had

conquered the land of Kuntala and taken his country and that, when Chōḍa used to start on military expeditions, the lord of Kuntala along with others was afraid of the marching sounds and made obeisance to him.¹⁶⁰ Here Kuntala refers to the Chālukyas or Kalachūris, and Kuntala lord refers to either Jagadēkamalla III or Bijjala. It seems evident from the record dated 1163 A.D. at Drākṣārāma that Chōḍa attained the support from the Chālukya-Chōla overlord in his campaign against the Chālukyas of Kalyani as the record was dated in his 18th regnal year. According to a stone record at Bapatla¹⁶¹ and the Nandūru copper plates¹⁶² of Rājendra Chōḍa, his kingdom extended from Nagaram, i.e., Kaḷiṅganagara in the North to Kalahasti in the South and to Śrīśailam in the west and was bounded by the sea in the east. According to Manchana,¹⁶³ Kommana Pregarā, the minister of Rājendra Chōḍa, attacked the feudatories of Kataka or Orissa and defeated them. Probably this battle was the consequence of the rebellion and invasion of the Kaḷiṅga armies against Chōḍa II. It appears that the province of Kaḷiṅga was governed by the Brahmin general, Mentana Pregarā, under the orders of the king Rājendra Chōḍa II. The general is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of Rājendra Chōḍa in Kaḷiṅga.¹⁶⁴ It appears that the southern portion of Kaḷiṅga extending as far as the Mahēndragiri was annexed to Vēṅgi by this time. This can be attested by Kommana's gifts¹⁶⁵ to the temples at Śrīkūrmam, Kunudurti, Krottacherla, Tripurāntakam, Kottidona, Boggāram and Elamanchili in Kaḷiṅgarāstra which were intended as thanks-offering for his victories in Kaḷiṅga.

The records of Rājarāja II are noticed in Drākṣārāma upto 1170 A.D.¹⁶⁶ But his records at Kollūru and Koṇḍidena are dated in 1173 A.D.¹⁶⁷ By this it is evident that his records are present in coastal Andhra regions till the end of his reign period. He seems to have died in 1173 A.D. and the Velanāṭi chiefs became more prominent rulers in Āndhradēśa during his reign period. Even though the Velanāṭi chiefs and other *māṇḍalikas* acknowledged the sovereignty of the Chālukya-Chōla Emperor Rājarāja II and dated their records in his regnal years, there was no effective rule of the Chālukya-

Chōlas. In addition, a large number of stone records were issued by the *māṇḍalikas* in Āndhradēśa independently without acknowledging the names of the Chālukya-Chōla rulers. The whole reign of Rājarāja II was completely filled with the internal strifes among the *māṇḍalikas* as well as external threats from the side of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Eastern Gangas of Kaṭiṅga and the rising Kākatīya chiefs. The Velanāḍus, the representatives of the Chālukya-Chōla suzerains in Āndhradēśa, owed nominal allegiance to their overlords, and were engaged actively in a number of battles within and outside Āndhradēśa to impose their authority. As a result of the series of wars waged by the Velanāḍus, they lost much of their wealth and military strength. Hence, there was a gradual decline of the authority of the Velanāṭi Chiefs after Rājendra Chōḍa.

Thus the Chālukya-Chōlas proved themselves to be quite pragmatic, and made suitable changes in their imperial policies according to the political exigencies and expediency to maintain the integrity of their empire. But from the beginning, they had to concede complete autonomy to their viceroys as well as to the local powers. From 1118 A.D. onwards, the Andhra territories were entrusted to the prominent local chiefs, Velanāṭi Chōlas whose dynastic title indicates that they were of Chōla origin. The material interests of these local chiefs and the Chālukya-Chōlas, which were threatened by the external menace from the Western Chālukyas and recalcitrance of the Eastern Gangas, impelled them to be bound to each other. But this policy of elevating the prominent local power as the Chālukya-Chōla representative led to rivalries between the local powers which gradually led to mutual decadence and over all weakness. The same was the case with the rival powers in South India among the Chōlas, the Western Chālukyas, and the Eastern Gangas; and all this resulted in gradual emergence of political vacuum, particularly from the last quarter of the 12th Century A.D.

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Successors of Kulōtunga I upto 1173 A.D.

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The last Vestiges of the Chālukya-Chōla Power in Andhra

In the preceding chapter, it has been observed that from the beginning of the second half of the 12th Century the power of the Chālukya-Chōlas started to decline due to the external menace and the internal disorders both at the centre and in the Andhra territories. Particularly, the Chālukya-Chōlas could not contain the independent proclivities of their feudatories in Andhra. The feudatories were challenging the supremacy of the Velanāṭi Chōlas and their allies. There were alliances and alignments leading to civil wars among the feudatories that were weakening them. This was leading to the emergence of political vacuum, because of the persistence and intensification of these factors; and there were no competent persons to arrest this tendency.

Rājarāja II was succeeded by Tribhuvanachakravartī

Rājādhirāja II on the Chālukya-Chōla throne. When Rājarāja II was nearing his end since he had no sons, the questions of succession began to loom large in his mind. To avoid conflict in the country regarding the problem of succession to the throne, he wanted to settle this question amicably even in his life time. He wanted to find out whether there were any rightful heirs to the throne. In course of this search for a successor, he came to know that there were two young princes aged one and two in Gangaikondā Chōlapuram. These two were the sons of Vikrama Chōla's daughter, who was a sister of Kulōttunga II. Rājarāja II, ascertaining through his officers that there were no male members fit to occupy the throne excepting these two children, ordered that these two children might be sent to his capital from Gangaikondā-Chōlapuram. Finding that his end was approaching very soon, Rājarāja II enthroned the elder boy Edirilipperumāl as the crown prince. Rājarāja II died soon after this, and the prince was too young to carry out his responsibilities. Hence the minister Pallavarāyar held the entire administration of the country in the name of the young king. Edirilipperumāl was crowned as the king in 1165 A.D. All this account is furnished by the Pallavarāyanapettai inscription.¹ Thus Rājādhirāja II ruled kingdom conjointly with his father for a brief period.

Soon after the death of Rājarāja II, Āndhradeśa suffered a political turmoil. Unable to bear the authority of the Velanāṭis, some of the *māṇḍalikas* rebelled and declared themselves as independent chieftains. Of them, the sons of Vijayāditya III of the Chālukyas of Pithāpur are important. Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa seemed to have exercised independent powers during his reign. Rājādhirāja II was comparatively a weak Chālukya-Chōla emperor. During his period, he had to look after the affairs of the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. The Chōla power in Tanjore was itself threatened by the rising neighbouring powers such as the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra and the Pallavas. Hence Rājādhirāja II was pre-occupied with the affairs of the Tamil districts and was unable to look after the affairs of Āndhradeśa. As the

successors of Kulōttunga I were comparatively weak, they could not hold their authority in the kingdom like their predecessors. In the last years of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa, occurred a civil strife, the Palnāṭi war, which weakened the power of the Velanāṭis and the several *māṇḍalikas*, and led to the decline of the Chālukya-Chōla rule in Āndhradeśa.

At this period, taking advantage of the chaotic political situation in Andhra, the Kākatiya rulers were trying to assert their influence on the fertile coastal tracts. The rise of the Kākatiya power in Telingana had striking effects on the politics of Vēṅgī. The contemporary Kākatiya ruler at this time was Rudradēva (1158-1199 A.D.). Throughout his reign, he was troubling the east-coast endeavouring to spread his power over the coastal Andhra region. Probably, to take revenge against the Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Chōḍa, who had killed his father at Drākṣārāma about 1158 A.D., he invaded the coastal Andhra districts in 1163 A.D.² But there is no evidence to show that the invasion was a success, for the Kākatiya power did not spread in the east coast immediately afterwards. On the other hand, it might as well be suggested, by the grants of Rājendra Chōḍa to Tripurāntaka at Komaragiri³ and records at Tripurāntakam,⁴ that Chōḍa successfully checked and defeated the advance of the Kākatiyas. The Kākatiya rulers, having an insight into the future political situation, contracted marriage alliances with the Nātavāḍis, Kōṭas, and others. This strengthened their power and helped them greatly in extending their dominions into the coastal Andhra regions. The Kunda-varam inscription⁵ says that the Kākatiya chief Mahādēva married his daughter Kundāmbika to Rudradēva son of Buddha, the Nātavāḍi chief. This speaks for the political wisdom of the Kākatiya rulers for it gave them support in Andhra regions. According to the Amarāvati⁶ inscription of 1197 A.D., one of the queens of Kēta II, the Kōta chief, was Nāgama the daughter of king Kākati Kēta and Kundama. This Kēta is unidentified, and was undoubtedly a prince of the Kākatiya dynasty. Thus, by having the matrimonial alliance with the local rulers in Āndhradeśa, the Kākatiyas laid their foundations for the expansion of Kākatiya dominions into the

coastal Andhra districts. The wishes of the Kākattīya rulers, in attaining authority in the Andhra districts were fructified by the Palnāti war. Information about this war can be gathered from *Palnāṭivīra Charitra* of Srinatha and Virabhadrakavi. This work is of much later origin written after 14th and 19th centuries A.D. by Srinatha and Virabhadrakavi after the battle of Kārempūḍi, and it narrates only the details of the battle and the civil war. This information is supplemented by very few records. According to the palmleaf manuscript of *Viracharitra*, the Palnāḍu region was ruled by the Haihayas who traced their ancestry to Brahma, in whose lineage was born Kritavīrya and his son was Kārtavīrya.⁷ Thus the rulers of Palnād region were the descendents of Kārtavīrya. According to the epigraphs, Anugurāja was ruling the Palnad region in 1147 A.D.⁸ He is also known as Anugu Kāmarāju and Mailālādēvi Kāmarāju and his contemporary Velanāṭi rulers were Velanāṭi Kulōttunga Chōḷa Gonka I and Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḷa. Anugurāja contracted matrimonial alliances with the local ruling *māṇḍalikas* who belonged to the Śūdra caste although he was a kshatriya by caste. This was probably to strengthen his hold in the Andhra region. Anugurāja married Mailālādēvi, the daughter of Velanāṭi Gonka II. On this occasion, Gonka II, the father-in-law of Anugurāja, gave him away the region of Palanāḍu as dowry.⁹ With Gonka's support, he extended his kingdom adding to his five divisions in Palnāḍ,¹⁰ and thus became the lord of Kammanāḍu¹¹ towards the close of his reign. Beside Mailālādēvi, he had two other wives—Viravidyādēvi and Bhūramadēvi. By Mailama he had a son Nalakāma or Vikrama II, and by Viravidyādēvi three sons—Pedamallidēva, Pinamallidēva and Bālamallidēva, and by Bhūramadēvi four sons—Kāmarāju, Narasingarāju, Jhaṭṭirāju and Perumālarāju.¹² The chronicle of Palnāḍu gives a graphic description of the events that led to the war. It enumerates the names of many chiefs, who participated in the battle, identity of some of whom will help fix some historical persons that participated in the battle of Kārempūḍi. Nalakāma is said to have sent letters to a number of kings asking them to come and join him in the war with their armies to which most

of them responded. As a result of the friendly and matrimonial alliances, the chiefs such as the Velanāṭis, the Kōṭas, the Kulachūri kings, the Hoysalas, the Chāgis of Guḍimeṭṭa, and the Kākatiyas participated in the wars.¹³ The reasons for the interference of the Hoysalas in this family struggle are not known. Same is the case with the participation of the ruler of Orissa, who is mentioned as Kaṭakādhipati, i.e., Baladēva Purushōttama. Of the several names of the chiefs stated to have participated in the war, few of them can be identified with certainty. Among them, Rudra I of the Kākatiyas, Kōṭa Kēta II¹⁴ son of Bhīma II and Velanāṭi Gonka III son of Chōḍa II, joined the armies of Nalagāmarāja. Vīra Sōmidēva of the Kalachūryas and Pōtarāja of Guḍimeṭṭa and other chiefs joined the side of Pēdamallidēva. The battle might have been fought between 1178 and 1185 A.D., or a little earlier between 1176 and 1182 A.D., as most of the kings mentioned above lived at that time. According to *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*,¹⁵ the battle took place at Kāreṃpūḍi which lasted for three days. According to it, Brahmanāyaka and his partisans emerged victorious, and Nāgamma fled; and Brahma enthroned Nalakāma once again. But tradition records that Nalakāma was victorious; and Brahma was forced to make peace with him, and he left Palnād on a religious mission.¹⁶ The civil war in Palnād resulted in the immediate destruction of the wealth of the country in terms of men and money. It catalysed the fall of the Velanāḍu kingdom and the minor dynasties in Āndhradēśa, and brought in its train the invasion of Rudradēva¹⁷ in 1186 A.D. Even though he is said to have entered Andhra to participate in the civil war at this time, it may not be true. Taking the critical political situation in Āndhradēśa as an advantage, he might have undertaken an expedition into the coastal Andhra districts at this time. It appears that the Kākatiya armies, during the battle of Kāreṃpūḍi also, invaded the Kōṭa territories before returning home and killed Bhīma, though it did not result in adding territories to the Kākatiya kingdom.¹⁸ According to *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*, the armies of the Kākatiyas and the Kōṭas fought side by side in the battle of Kāreṃpūḍi. Hence the

reasons for the Kākatiya invasion into the Kōṭa territory are not known. It was probably owing to the ambition of Rudra to conquer kingdoms. During his reign, Kōṭa Bhīma II, invaded Dhānyavāṭi along with his feudatory chieftains such as the Rēcharla, the Vipparla, the Komaravalli and the Rāchūri families. The family *prāsastis* of the Rēcharla, the Vipparla, the Dēsātla, and the Komaravelli have the title, *Dannālakōṭa parivēshṭitakadana* (Encircled Dhannālakōṭa in battle), *Doḍḍavabhīmuni garvāpaharaṇa* (Robbed the Pride of Doḍḍavabhīma), *Dannālakōṭarāya vēśvābhujanga* (Lover of the Prime Danseuse of Dannālakōṭa), and *Doḍḍavabhīmuni śiraḥchēdana* (Beheaded Doḍḍavabhīma), respectively.¹⁹ It is likely that the members of the Rēcharla, the Vipparla and the Dēsātla, and the Komaravelli participated in the Palnādu war along with the Kākatiyas, and invaded the Kōṭa territories after the war with success, and surrounded their capital Dharaṇikōṭa. Probably, in this battle the armies of the Kōṭas were defeated and their ruler Doḍḍa Bhīma,²⁰ or Bhīma II, was killed. The titles of the military officials of the Kākatiyas, such as *Dannālakōṭarāyavēśyābhujanga*, indicate this. Kōṭa Kēta II, the son and successor of Kōṭa Bhīma II, did not feel strong enough to avenge his father's death at the Kākatiya hands. During his time, the Kākatiya influence was spreading into the Kōṭa kingdom. But the fact is evident that Kēta II owed no allegiance to the Kākatiyas in the records. But information is available in the *Koifiyat of Vallūru*²¹ which says that, under the Kākatiya kings, Kōṭa Kēta was the governor over the province with its capital at Dharaṇikōṭa. Though it is not confirmed by the epigraphs, it is evident that the Kōṭas were not in a position to oppose the authority and were in a subordinate position to the Kākatiyas at this time. Being wise enough, the Kākatiyas seemed to have contracted marriage alliance with the Kōṭa chiefs.²²

The downfall of the Kōṭa kingdom helped the Kākatiyas greatly in defeating the Koṇḍapaḍumati regions. Rāchūri Dāraparāju,²³ a *māṇḍalika*, and Kōṭa Bhīma II²⁴ had the title —*Buddha kulukuddāla*, (Axe to the Race of Buddha). As the Koṇḍapaḍumati chiefs claim to have descended from

Buddhavarman, probably this title suggests that the chief must have exterminated the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs. This evidence is corroborated by the absence of epigraphs of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs from 1173 to 1186 A.D. After attaining success in all his conquests in the Andhra regions, Kākati Rudradēva seems to have granted a village Rēvūru near Koṇḍapalle to lord Tripurāntakēśvara at Tripurāntakam in 1185 A.D.²⁵ Soon after the Palnāḍu war, most of the Velanāṭi regions seemed to have gone into the hands of the Kākatiyas.

Velanāṭi Prithviśvara ascended the Velanāṭi throne after Gonka III in 1186 A.D.²⁶ During his reign, the Kōṭa chiefs were more prominent and became the feudatories of the Kākatiyas. The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom was ultimately occupied by the Kōṭa dynasty. The authority of the Telugu Chōḍas of Konidena is considerably reduced. Nothing is known about the rulers of Kolanuvidu. The Gōḍāvarī delta was under the independent authority of the Haihayas of Kōnasīma. In the region of Vēṅgi, there were petty independent principalities of the Chāḷukyas and others. The successors of Vijayāditya III were ruling in the region of Piṭhāpur. The two important records that give the information in regard to the successors of Vijayāditya III are the Erarupalli²⁷ copper plate record and the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription.²⁸ The descendents of Vijayāditya III, who were ever watchful of the political situation in Vēṅgi, recovered their original principality of Piṭhāpuram. According to the Erarupalli inscription, Vijayāditya III had a son Viṣṇuvardhana by Lakshmīdēvi.²⁹ He had the titles *karavālabhairava* (Wielder of Fierce Sword), *Rājanārāyaṇa*³⁰ (Supreme Ruler). Since the regnal years coupled with the Śaka dates in the records of Viṣṇuvardhana III yield the initial date Śaka 1095-96 (1173-74 A.D.) of his reign as stated before, his rule may be taken to have commenced in that year. Probably that he must have received help from the rising Kākatiya chiefs in recovering the throne cannot altogether be ruled out because of the existence of the Kākatiya records in Vēṅgi, particularly in the Gōḍāvarī region.³¹ By the evidence of the records of Viṣṇuvardhana III, the extent of his empire can be estimated. He seems to have been the ruler of the

Prōlunāḍu, lying to the east of the river Elēru, comprising some portions of the present-day Peddapuram and Kakinada taluks and Pithapuram division in the East Godavari district. It is evident by the Erarupalli copper plate grant issued by him that he was already in possession of a part of Guddavādi *Vishaya* by Śaka 1101 (1179 A.D.) which is the date of the record.³² But by the evidence of the records of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa and his subordinates date in 1180 A.D.³³ and 1181 A.D.³⁴ at Drākṣārāma, it is probable that the complete subjection of this area does not seem to have been effected till 1181 A.D. The records of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara³⁵ indicate that he became the master of Prōlunāḍu in 1185 A.D. and held it until his death. The Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithviśvara,³⁶ proves that Velanāṭi Prithviśvara successfully carried his authority beyond the river Gōḍavari and brought the trans-Godavari region under his sceptre. There are no records of Vishṇuvardhana III subsequent to 1185 A.D. Although Vishṇuvardhana III issued a record in 1201 A.D., it is possible to suppose the prevalence of the authority of the Velanāḍus in this region, which can be well attested by the Pithāpuram record. Velanāṭi Prithviśvara's earliest record is the Pithāpuram pillar³⁷ inscription dated 1186 A.D. that registered a grant by the queen mother Jāyama. Probably with the demise of the powerful Velanāṭi and the Chālukya-Chōla rulers, much of the Vēṅgi country to the South of Gōḍavari was appropriated by the *māṇḍalikas* who were till then the feudatories of the Durjayas of Velanāḍu. Velanāṭi Prithviśvara seemed to have lost much of the territory to the south of Gōḍavari before the date of the Pithāpuram stone pillar inscription. Possibly with the view to conquer the Gōḍavari region and to subjugate the Chālukyas of Pithāpur, he might have gone to their capital. After attaining the complete subjection of the Pithāpur region, he might have issued the grant in 1186 A.D. It seems evident from the Kōna Haihaya pillar inscription at Pithāpuram,³⁸ that the Haihayas of Kōnamāṇḍala had also acknowledged the authority of the Velanāḍus. This can be estimated from the two verses in praise of Jāyamahādēvi, mother of Prithviśvara, in the record.³⁹ Probably the Kākatiyas came into the region of Gōḍavari with

a view to help the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur in a battle against the Velanāḍus. This is evident from a record at Drākṣārāma dated in 1186 A.D.⁴⁰ that registered the gift of Kākati Rudradēva. The absence of the records of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara in the present day Krishna and Godavari districts has led some to argue that the Velanāḍus lost their authority in this region to the Kākatiyas.⁴¹ But this view is not acceptable in the light of the absence of the records of the Kākatiyas issued soon after 1186 A.D. The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis and the Palnād Haihayas must have remained on friendly terms in the reign of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara.⁴² The members of the Ayya chiefs seemed to have continued in service. Probably the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur owed allegiance to him. All these local rulers with their armies must have helped him in defending his kingdom and in warding off the foreign invasions.⁴³

Velanāṭi Prithviśvara seems to have had undertaken a campaign into the South Kaṭiṅga soon after the subjection of the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpur. The contemporary Ganga ruler was Rājārāja II who ruled from 1169-70 to 1190 A.D. In this campaign probably Prithviśvara attained victory which could be attested by his record at Śrīkūrmam in Srikakulam district⁴⁴ dated 1191 A.D. This is corroborated by the epithet *Velanāṭi Prithviśvara rājya samuddharaṇa* (who uplifted the kingdom of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara), *Kaliṅgadṛśa nirdhūmadhāma* (Destroyer of Kaliṅga country) borne by Koravi Vennayāmātya, his *daṇḍanāyaka*.⁴⁵

The contemporary Chālukya Chōla ruler of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara was Kulōttunga III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II. As the latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II is 16, his reign seems to have been extended upto 1179 A.D.⁴⁶ The records of Kulōttunga III show that his rule commenced between 6 and 8 July, 1178 A.D.⁴⁷ For a period of two decades i.e., from 1173 A.D. to 1193 A.D. There is no record mentioning or acknowledging the name of the Chālukya-Chōla ruler except one.⁴⁸ Hence, it can be surmised that, this was the period of transition in the history

of the Telugu country in which the Chōla power declined and the Kākattya power did not yet arise. In this fluid period many minor dynasties like Kōṭas, Chāgis, Kōṇas, and others parcelled and ruled the country and owed no allegiance to a suzerain power. In the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput the Telugu Chōḍas rose into prominence and withheld their loyalty to the Chōlas. Consequently, the Chōlas lost Kāñchīpuram to the Telugu Chōḍas and Kulōttunga III undertook a campaign against them. It seems that the campaign of Kulōttunga III was of the nature of a punitive expedition directed against his vassals who rebelled against him. It appears that Nallasiddha, the Telugu Chōḍa chief, declared independence and stopped paying the usual tribute which he had to pay to the Chōla monarch. For this reason, Kulōttunga III marched against him, and subjugated him, and successfully occupied Kāñchī by about 1196 A.D. This is known from the Śrīrangam inscription⁴⁹ dated in his 19th regnal year which states that he despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, made the kings of the north prostrate before him, entered Kāñchī, and when his anger abated levied tribute from all the kings there. His Pudukkotai inscriptions inform that, besides the capture of Kāñchī, he subjugated the *vaḍugu* (Telugus), annexed Vēṅgi *maṇḍalam* and entered *Urangai*.⁵⁰ Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri identified *Urangai* with Warangal. By 1199 A.D., Gaṇapatidēva ascended the Kākatiya throne. Excepting the vague statements of the two Pudukkotai records, no details of the campaign of Kulōttunga are forthcoming. Hence his entry into Warangal can be considered as a case of fabrication.⁵¹ There was no effective authority of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Andhra in the last quarter of the 12th Century A.D., and the Velanāḍu chiefs became practically independent. The Kākatiya ruler Gaṇapatidēva, undertook an expedition in the early part of his reign into Divi and Velanāḍu regions in which he seemed to have been successful. According to the Gaṇapēśvaram record,⁵² Gaṇapatidēva, the vanquisher of the kings of Chōla, Kaṭiṅga, Seuna, Karnāṭa, and Lata ruling over the country between the southern ocean and the Vindhya, made the whole country of Velanāḍu subject to himself, and

carried to his city men, women, elephants, horses and various kinds of precious stones seized by him in Velanāḍu. He conquered the Dvīpa, i.e., Divi isles, at the mouth of the Krishna, made Jāya his general, and married his two younger sisters. In this conquest Gaṇapatidēva might have been assisted by the Malyāla and Rēcharla families and the Telugu Chōḍas of Pākanādu. In the conquest of Velanāḍu also, he was victorious. As the Velanāṭis lack the support of the Ayya chiefs of Divi region, as they themselves fell a prey in the hands of the Kākatiyas, the armies of the Velanāṭis were unable to oppose the Kākatiya forces in the battle. Fighting till the end, Prithviśvara ultimately met his death in the hands of the Telugu Chōḷas in 1210 A.D. The son of Manumasiddha II, Gaṇḍagōpāla, had the title—the Sole Hero of the World Who Cut off the Head of Prithviśvara.⁵³ A Telugu Chōḍa prince Ballaya called himself *Prithviśvara Sirahkaṇḍukakrīḍāvinōda*⁵⁴ (who enjoyed the sport of ball of Prithviśvara's head). From the records of Jāyapanāyaka and Gaṇapatidēva at Chēbrolu⁵⁵ and Chandolu,⁵⁶ it is clear that Gaṇapatidēva conferred on Jāya the necessary insignia of his office, and thus Gaṇapati settled the conquered country by making Jāya his viceroy or representative. Thus by the strenuous efforts of the Kākatiya rulers most of the Andhra regions had gone into their hands soon after the death of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara.

Hitherto scholars have not paid due attention to the records of the later Chālukya-Chōḷa rulers in Āndhradēśa. But in the light of the evidences furnished by the records at Drākṣārāma, the history of the later Chālukya-Chōḷa rule in Āndhradēśa can be reconstructed. Previously, scholars were inclined to identify Rājādhirāja of Drākṣārāma records with Kulōttunga III, Rājarāja III or Rājendra III,⁵⁷ though the names are different because of the dates of the records of Drākṣārāma fall in the reign of the Chōḷa kings, whose inscriptions are available in the South. As there are practically no records of Kulōttunga III and Rājendra III, it can be assumed reasonably that the rule of these kings was strictly confined to the Tamilnad, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts. With the assumption that the rulers of the South were different.

from Rājādhirājas appearing in the records of the Telugu districts, the history of the later Chālukya-Chōlas can be reconstructed to some extent.

With the accession of Rājādhirāja II, the Chōla rule was not smooth, which can be known by a Tamil record from Hemavati (Anantapur district).⁵⁸ In the Tamil records, the latest regnal year of Rājādhirāja II is sixteen,⁵⁹ which is equivalent to 1179 A.D. The records of the next ruler, Kulōttunga III, show that his rule commenced between 6th and 8th July, 1173 A.D.⁶⁰ Thus it is clear that Kulōttunga III had come to be recognised as the next sovereign before the end of the rule of Rājādhirāja II. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri observes that Kulōttunga III never gave up his rivalry and brought about the exile of Rājādhirāja to Telugu country in 1178 A.D.,⁶¹ when he seized the Chōla throne with the aid of his partisans.⁶² Thus, in the light of the Tamil records, it can be suggested that Rājādhirāja II of the Chōla line came to the region of Drākṣārāma and settled there and ruled for a considerable period. In support of this view can be placed the records of Rājādhirāja in Drākṣārāma, which show that he lived there many years after his rule ended in the Tamil country. Thus it can be suggested that there was a line of rulers, who branched off from the Chōlas of Tanjore and ruled over the region of Drākṣārāma for about a century.⁶³

If the political situation in the Chōla country is observed, it appears that several difficulties sprang up in the time of Rājarājādēva III, which forced him to seek the help of the Hoysalas by the intervention of Kulōttunga III in the affairs of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.⁶⁴ Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri describes the situation thus: "It was evidently the weakness of the Chōla country by the Hoysalas under Virasōmēśvara and to the conquest of Kāñchi by the Kākatiya king Gaṇapatidēva"⁶⁵. As the Chōla rulers were themselves suffering from the then rising imperial powers, the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas and the Kākatiyas of Warangal, it is not reasonable to suggest that they still held their authority in the Gādāvari region.

Late Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma⁶⁶ opined that there is no record of Rājādhirāja at Drākṣārāma registering his personal gifts. Though it is a fact, it does not stand in the way of considering Rājādhirāja as a later Chālukya-Chōla ruler exercising his hegemony in Drākṣārāma region, as the vassal rulers mentioned him in their various grants. As the regnal years of the rulers are mentioned in the records continuously coupled with the Śaka dates, the historicity of Rājādhirāja figuring in the Drākṣārāma records cannot be denied. Moreover, Jāyapa Nāyaka⁶⁷ and the other ministers of the Kākattiyas⁶⁸ would not have found it necessary to mention a king who is non-existent or whose power is not considerable.

Further, the Matsyas of Oḍḍāḍi,⁶⁹ and the Chālukyas of Elamanchili, the subordinates of the Eastern Gangas, mention the name of Rājādhirāja. Similarly, the subordinates of the Kākattiyas like the Chālukyas of Niḍadavōlu (Vīrabhadra ?) and Jāyapanāyaka, the minister and close relative of Gaṇapatidēva as well as Indulūri Annaya, the son of Indulūri Gannaya, a blood relative and *Pradhāni* of Kākati Rudramadēvi, also mention the name of Rājādhirāja.

Generally, chiefs and generals mention the names of their suzerains or issue their records independently. But as they mention Rājādhirāja or Rājarāja in their inscriptions, it shows that there was at least a local ruler near Drākṣārāma, whose name they mentioned. It would have been unnecessary for them to make mention of a Chālukya-Chōla ruler ruling from Tanjore, whose effective rule in Andhra ended in the last quarter of the 12th Century A.D. itself.

On the basis of above discussion, the reasons for not identifying Rājādhirājas of the Telugu lithic records with the Chōla rulers excepting Rājādhirāja II (the Chōla rulers) can be summarised thus :

1. Not even a single record in Āndhradēśa mention the names of Kulōttunga III and Rājendra III.

2. The Chōla rulers at this time were involved in constant struggles with the Pāṇḍyas, Hoysalas and the Kākatiyas. Hence, it would not be possible for them to have under their authority the Godāvari region.
3. The records of the Rājādhirājas are found only in Drākṣārāma and Simhāchalam and not in the other parts of Āndhradēśa. Previously, the records of the Chālukya-Chōla rulers upto Rājarāja II are noticed in several regions of Andhra.⁷⁰
4. The Kākatiya generals and ministers of great reputation, as well as several rulers of the subsidiary dynasties in Āndhradēśa mention the name of Rājādhirāja in their records.
5. The Telugu lithic records mention the Śaka as well as the regnal years of the kings which point to their rule in Āndhradēśa.

The records observed at Drākṣārāma and Simhāchalam are the only sources in reconstructing the chronology of the later Chālukya-Chōla rulers. With the information provided by the twenty-two records found at Drākṣārāma and the one at Simhāchalam it can be assumed that there were at least four rulers of this line :

Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1182-1215)

Rājādhirāja III (A.D. 1216-1253)

Rājarāja (A.D. 1254-1267)

Rājādhirāja IV (A.D. 1258-1303)

Of these records, the inscription mentioning Rājādhirāja II, with the Śaka 1104 (1182 A.D.)⁷¹ and the 16th regnal year of the king seems to be earliest record. According to some scholars,⁷² Rājādhirāja II was already dead by that time. But Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri positively mentioned

the exile of Rājādhirāja II from the Tamil country to the Telugu country after his 16th regnal year because of the troubles imposed by his successor Kulōttunga III. Therefore, it seems to be reasonable to suggest that Rājādhirāja II came over to Āndhradeśa and settled at Drākṣārāma establishing a collateral family. This view gains support from the reason that the regnal and the Śaka years with their astronomical details referred to in the records of Rājādhirāja II, carries the initial year of his reign to 1165-66 A.D., i.e., the same year in which the accession of the Chōla ruler, Rājādhirāja II took place. The latest regnal year mentioned in his record is 49 i.e., 1215 A.D. (Śaka 1137).⁷³

Rājādhirāja II was probably succeeded by Rājādhirāja III whose relationship with the former is not known. His inscriptions start from his 36th year (Ś 1174=A.D. 1252)⁷⁴ so that he could be taken to have been the immediate successor of Rājādhirāja II in 1216. His latest regnal year is the 37th equivalent to (Ś 1175=A.D. 1253).⁷⁵ His successor was Rājarāja whose inscriptions refer to Ś 1176=A.D. 1254 (38th regnal year) and Ś 1189=A.D. 1267.⁷⁶ He can thus be placed as the ruler between A.D. 1254 and 1267. In this case as well as for the next reign it is not possible to take the regnal years as those of the concerned kings themselves, because it would place the accession of Rājādhirāja III, Rājarāja and the next king Rājādhirāja IV at A.D. 1216 itself. Therefore, it may be suggested that excepting the regnal years of Rājādhirāja II, which are a continuation of his rule from his rule in Tamil area, the years of other rulers are the total years of the family's rule and not their regnal years. Thereby, the Śaka years are considered here for estimating the duration of the rule. After Rājarāja, Rājādhirāja IV ruled whose inscriptions may be taken to commence from Ś 1180=A.D. 1258 (43rd year)⁷⁷ and end by Ś 1225=A.D. 1303.⁷⁸ Probably, he must have acted as heir-apparent during A.D. 1258-67.

The later Chālukya-Chōla rulers maintained their independent power over a small territory till the year 1303 A.D.

It is made clear by the present study of the records at Drākṣārāma and Simhāchalam dated in the regnal years of the Chālukya-Chōlas and issued by the rulers, who still called themselves as vassals of the Chōla emperor. That is, even the close associates of the Kākatīyas monarches such as Jāyapa Nāyaka and Indulūri Annaya Pradhāni were no exception. It is further evident that the local dynasties such as Velanāḍus, Haihayas of Kōna, Chālukyas of Elamanchili, Chālukyas of Nidadavolu, Matsyas of Oḍḍādi, continued to acknowledge the Chālukya-Chōla overlordship till so late as the end of 13th Century A.D. which is of some significance in the history of the later Chālukya-Chōlas in Āndhradeśa.

But the suzerainty was nominal and ineffective, as it could not check the emergence of political vacuum, that had been created by the mutual struggle of their feudatories in Andhra, particularly, during the second half of the Chālukya-Chōla rule, viz., 1173 to 1303 A.D. The only redeeming feature was that a new power, the Kākatīyas gradually equipped themselves and were trying successfully to fill the political vacuum in Andhra.

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considered by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri (*Cōlas*, p. 358) as the 61st regnal year of the King; N. Sethuraman (*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*, p. 34) accepted this view.

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Administration

The survey of the political history made in the foregoing five chapters indicates that the political supremacy of the Chālukya-Chōlas in Andhra was limited. Andhra country lost its independence and individuality for a time. But, the Chālukya-Chōla feudatories in Andhra were virtually independent. They were engaged in mutual rivalry which was leading to the gradual emergence of political vacuum. This also kindled the covetousness of the neighbouring powers, viz., the Western Chālukyas and Eastern Gangas; and the Andhra region became a bone of contention among the three contending powers. The Chālukya-Chōlas were struggling to maintain it as their sphere of influence while their rivals were trying to exercise their hegemony over it. But the three-pronged rivalry gave virtual independence to the local powers, some of whom like the Velanāṭi Chōlas, sought their political integrity successfully to a considerable extent. Although the political output was not considerable, the powers that could prevail, maintained the administration, economy and could facilitate considerable cultural activity which will be observed in the light of the evidence available in the following chapters.

The administrative system that was followed in Āndhradēśa during the period under study, offers a very curious picture with complex features. The system that was practised in the Andhra regions was an admixture of indigenous and foreign elements which were very difficult to separate. It was the result of the happy blend of the influences of the major South Indian powers, such as the Chōlas of Tamilnad, Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Eastern Gangas of Kāṭiṅga over the Andhra regions. During this period political unity or the allegiance to a common state, though desirable, was not considered essential. The lack of political unity in this period did not curtail the progress of the country. As the suzerain lords over Āndhradēśa were the Chālukya-Chōlas, the administration practised in Āndhradēśa was nothing but a replica of the Chōla system.

In this period, monarchy became the ordinary form of government. Though it is difficult to form any clear idea about the political organisation, much information is forthcoming from the numerous records of the period which throw a great deal of light on the highly organised systems of administration and taxation in force. This information was well corroborated by the literature of this period. From the available sources, it is evident that the institution of kingship attained greater importance with the development of social and political organisations. As the king was the most important person in performing several activities of the political organisation, he needs to fulfil certain essential qualifications. According to the *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras* he needs to be a good ruler with courage, learning and diligence. He was considered fit to be king who possessed in unfailing measure of fearlessness, wisdom and enthusiasm in action. The king was required to be just in his administration and kind to his subjects, and more than anything else oppression and misrule were considered to be very bad. He was expected to rule with benevolent concern for the people and with due regard to their wishes. More than all these, he should maintain *Dharma*, for, all *Dharma* in the land and the observance of the precepts of teachers depended on the good government of the

king. Even though the king was the most important and the chief element in the state, he does not appear to have been an autocrat. His powers were limited to an extent, by several administrative institutions and his authority was controlled by a number of customary codes laid in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.

With regard to the succession to the throne, the principle of heredity came to be largely followed in this period and was greatly respected. With the development of monarchy as a settled institution, it was the general practice of the time that the eldest son by the chief queen succeeded to the throne and the accession of him was sought to be secured by his nomination as the *yuvārāja* or the crown-prince even during the life time of the previous king. The king usually had the support of the political thinkers, generally brahmins, whose interest was to support the authority of the institution which safeguarded their well being. Thus, the principle of hereditary kingship was greatly emphasised by the older texts as well as by the political thinkers of the time. It was generally considered that the automatic succession of kings was an effective means of preventing interference of the feudatories and the vassals in the selection of the rulers, by which they could assert superior power.

Though the succession of the throne in the male line was the common practice, it was not unusual for heirs on the female line to succeed to the throne. This can be attested by the accession of Kulōttunga I on the Chōla throne. Soon after the death of Adhirājendra in 1070 A.D. the Eastern Chālukyan prince Rājendra Chōla ascended the Chōla throne with the official name, Kulōttunga I. His claims to the throne of the Chōlas were fully recognised as he was the nephew of the late king Virarājendra. He was the great grandson of Chōla Rājarāja, in two ways. He was the son of Ammāṅga-dēvi, a daughter of Rājendra Gangaikoṇḍa Chōla and his father was Rājarāja Narēndra, the Eastern Chālukyan king who was the son of Kundavai, the daughter of Rājarāja and the Eastern Chālukyan prince Vimalāditya. Thus, both his

mother and grandmother were the Chōḷa princesses and on the failure of heirs in the regular Chōḷa line Kulōttunga I was enthroned unanimously as the Chōḷa king. Thus was established the first king through the female line in the line of the Chāḷukya Chōḷas.¹

Likewise, there is another instance of succession of the rulers through the female line after the rule of Rājarāja II. The question of succession arose when Rājarāja II was nearing his end, for he had no son and the problem of choosing the heir began to loom large. To settle the problem of succession to the throne he made a thorough search whether there were any rightful heirs to the throne. In course of his search for a successor who had better claims on the throne, he came to know that there were two young princes aged one and two in Gangaikōṇḍa Chōlapuram. These two were the sons of Nerindaipperumāl alias Sangamarājan, who in his turn was the son of Aluḍaiyanācchīyār, who was the daughter of Vikrama Chōḷa and sister of Kulōttunga II. Rājarāja II chose as his heir-apparent Edirilipperumāl, the grandson of Vikrama Chōḷa after ascertaining through his officials that there were no male members fit to occupy the throne. Edirilipperumāl was crowned as the king in his 4th year with the name Rājādhirāja.

It was also not unusual during this period for the younger brothers to succeed to the throne. Kulōttunga III who was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja ascended the throne after the rule of Rājādhirāja.

Dwairājya or dual kingship, was not unknown and appears in this period. *Dwairājya* is explained as a kingdom, ruled by two kings jointly. Kauṭilya in his *Arthasāstra* did not view this institution favourably. He viewed this as an institution which was beset with internal strife and hostilities. In Āndhradeśa there are a few instances where this dual kingship was followed. The administration of the Haihayas of Kōṇa and Haihayas of Palnād, and the Kōṭa chiefs of Dharanikōṭa presents the unique feature of dual kingship in

Andhra country in this period. The exact reasons that made the Kōna chiefs and the Palnād Haihayas and Kōṭas to embark on dual rule are not clear from the epigraphs of this period. Hence, it may be well assumed that as the Kōna kings usually followed bigamy and had many sons, they might have thought it better to have the dual kingship in their country to prevent friction for throne between rival brothers. For this reason, i.e., to prevent the civil wars which would ruin the people and the kingdom, the Haihayas of Kōna and other chiefs invented the practice of dual kingship. Although the institution of dual kingship was viewed by Kauṭilya as a troublesome institution, it assured safety and prosperity to the kingdom avoiding internal strifes. Probably, it was mainly successful as the two rulers were either the brothers with different mothers or the father and the son, thus representing the two different lines—elder and younger. The dual kingship, which can be regarded as the conjoint constitutional exercise of the sovereign power by two persons in the state, prevailed in Āndhradeśa successfully for several generations. The Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription which was issued by two kings ruling together in the same country would give us the best illustration of the four generations of dual rule.² It is also evident from the same record that the kingdom of the Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala was not divided into two pieces but it was ruled conjointly by both. Reference can also be made in this regard to the peaceful conditions that prevailed in Andhra regions during the joint rule of the two sets of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs— (1) Buddhavarman and Gaṇḍa; (2) Buddarāja IV and Maṇḍa IV.

Great stress has been laid on the importance of the nomination of the *yuvarāja* or crown-prince in the *Smṛitis* and *Nītiśāstras*. The kings usually nominated their heir-apparents in their own lifetime to obviate the possibility of any dispute with regard to succession to the throne after their death. Kulōttunga I choose his son Vikrama Chōḷa as his heir apparent even during his life time and recalled him from the south.³ It is quite possible that the king chose the *yuvarāja* in consultation with or at least with the knowledge of his own

officials.⁴ The selection of Rājādhirāja by Rājarājadēva II was done with the full knowledge of his ministers and officials. The prime minister, Pallavarāyar, was greatly responsible for this selection as is known from the Pallavarāyana peṭṭai inscription.⁵ At times, the practice of the selection of the *yuvarāja* by the reigning king was met with grave dangers. Though usually the succession to the throne was regulated by the practice of the eldest son by the chief queen being nominated as *yuvarāja* by the reigning kings, at times the rulers selected a younger person or the sons by other queens as the heirs-apparent which led to palace feuds among the members of the royal family and their partisans.⁶ From the Mallavaram copper plate record of Parāntaka and several lithic records at Drākṣārāma, it is clear that he ruled Vēṅgi region as the heir-apparent of Kulōttunga I from 1111 to 1118 A.D.⁷ At the same time, it is of interest to note that his brother Vikrama Chōḷa has been declared by the king as the heir-apparent. This shows that the nomination of the heir-apparent by Kulōttunga I caused some confusion as well as palace intrigues in the last years of Kulōttunga I. This dispute for the succession to the throne can well be perceived from the lithic records found at Drākṣārāma.⁸ From the account furnished in *Kaḷiṅgattupparanī* in regard to the youth of Kulōttunga I it is evident that the *yuvarājas* or the princes of that time were well trained at arms at an early age and loved many sports and the pleasures of the chase.⁹ The heir-apparent was actually associated with the administration during the rule of the king and on many occasions the *yuvarāja* participated in the wars along with the kings or undertook campaigns in times of need. Vikrama Chōḷa claimed in his records that he participated in the Kaḷiṅga conquest.¹⁰ In a record at Drākṣārāma¹¹ Maḍapalli Nūmkaya is said to have been the companion at arms of Parāntakadēva, the heir-apparent during his expedition of the conquest of the quarters *digvijaitra yātra sakhah*).

The coronation was an important ceremony and it had great political and constitutional significance in all the South Indian kingdoms. The legal authority to govern the kingdom

is sought by the *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent after the death of the previous ruler, only through the coronation ceremony. Usually, the coronation of the king appears to have taken place in the hall of public audience which was called as *abhiṣeka maṇḍapa*. The coronations were also celebrated in the temple halls (*maṇḍapas*). There are several references to such *abhiṣeka maṇḍapas* in the lithic records of Āndhradeśa.¹² During the coronation ceremony, the *yuvarāja* was given a bath with holy waters while the Brahmins and *Purōhitas* are reciting the Vēdic *mantras*. The coronation ceremony was done with all the pomp and paraphernalia of state functions after the religiosecular function.¹³

Sometimes, the heir-apparent was given an *abhiṣekanāma* or the official name on the occasion of his coronation. The first Chālukya-Chōḷa ruler, Rājendra Chōḷa was known as Kulōttunga I soon after his coronation in 1070 A.D.¹⁴ There is a similar instance in the later times also. Edirilipperumāl, the grandson of Vikrama Chōḷa came to be known as Rājādhirāja II after his coronation on the death of Rājarāja II.¹⁵

In the case of anointment of a young prince as the emperor naturally raises a number of administrative problems. In fact, when a young prince was anointed as emperor, it does not mean that he was mainly responsible for governing the empire. In certain cases, such as the minority of the kings or in the case of the inability of the emperors owing to their weakness, the administration was carried on by a regency council presided over by a regent or by the chief minister. They did everything in administering the empire on behalf of the ruler. During the period, there is one reference to such regent. Edirilipperumāl alias Rājādhirāja II, the grandson of Vikrama Chōḷa was a mere child of two years at the time of the death of Rājarāja II. As the prince was too young to shoulder the responsibilities of the empire, the entire administration was vested with Perumānnāmbi Pallavarāyar, who was the chief minister at that time.¹⁶ Pallavarāyar himself administered the empire, with unflinching loyalty to the crown,

while records were kept in the name of the boy-king Edirilipperumāḷ.

Information regarding the court life of the rulers is lacking from the records of the period but it is of interest to note a few remarks from the literary works of the period such as *Kaḷiṅgattuppurāṇi* Jayangoṇḍār, *Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra* of Srinatha and Virabhadra Kavi, and *Kumārasāmbhavam* written by Nanne Choḍa. In *Kumārasāmbhavam*, Nanne Chōḍa describes that the king should be free from the seven vices, six bad qualities and should possess the six good qualities, seven devices, patience and he must improve the kingdom and rule for the welfare of the people. Manchana in his *Kēyūrabāhu Charitra* states that the king should command his enemies and should not displease them.¹⁷ It is further stated in the work that he knows his kingdom thoroughly, the palace, topography, fertility, necessity of fortresses at certain places and friends and enemies among neighbouring kings. To the king, his weapon is intelligence, *saptāṅsgas* are his body, work and secrets are the shoes, ambassadors are his looks, people are his face and good conduct is his life.¹⁸ According to *Palnāṭivīra Charitra* the king's court is held daily, perhaps at fixed hours to discharge the daily duties and at other times when necessity demanded e.g.,—to receive the embassies. When the king is on his move and on the battle-field, court is held at places other than the capital and in military camp.¹⁹ The court of king Nalagāmarāja was graphically described in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*. It was stated in the work that the court of the king was richly and enormously decorated at the instance of the king and in it were seated the relatives of the king, priests, scholars and ministers of other kingdoms. According to Jayangoṇḍār, the Tamil poet, the court of Kulōttunga I was filled with his officials and ministers and the vassal kings, who brought tributes in the form of costly jewels, gems, elephants and the like.²⁰ The information provided by the Mallavaram copper plate record is exceedingly interesting as it gives an insight into the amusements and other engagements of Parāntakadēva.²¹ It is stated in the record that the king spent sometime in following his daily *nityakriyas*

(regular rituals) and *pūjas* (worships), according to the rules at the feet of the Lords. He heard stories from the *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas*, and stories from the *Kāvya*s and *Nāṭakas*. The king used to compile *Kāvya*s and *Nāṭakas* by himself. At times, he used to compile poems in different *ragas* (symphonies) to suit the *Kāvya*s and *Nāṭakas* himself. He used to sing, arrange dramas and also act in them. He also spent some time in hunting animals and in wandering about on elephants and horses.

Duel fighting or *anku yuddhamu* is the one among the royal amusements. It is known from the records of the period that the royal courts had the *ankakāras* or the duel fighters. Not only the kings but also, the *mōṇḍalikas*, *sāmantas* and sometimes even temple authorities used to maintain them. In the records of the period they are referred to as '*Vikramādityān-kakāra*, *Sattigānankakāra*, *Bhagavātīyānankakāra*, *Sivānankakāra*, *Dēśīyānankakāra*, *Chālukyānankakāra* etc.'²² In an inscription dated 1139 A.D. the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chieftain Manmamaṇḍaya Rāja is referred to as a *anankabhīma*, *sukavikīra sahakāra sujana janādhara vikrama krīḍāvinōda*²³ (enjoyed the valorous sport, refuge of the good and parrot like good poets).

According to *Arthaśāstra*²⁴ and *Manusmṛiti*, the State was not a loose assemblage of parts, but each had its own interests and can move at its own will. The State was characterised by the seven constituents such as the king, the ministry, the territory, the resources, the forts, the military forces and the allies. Of the seven constituents, the king and the ministers constituted the central government and they exercised the sovereign powers and imparted the central unity. The territory, forts, army and the treasury constituted the resources of the state. The armed forces and the forts are regarded essential to defend the very existence of the State. For discharging the functions of the State, as well as for the defence of the country, the state requires ample resources. Hence the treasury is regarded as indispensable to the very existence of the State.²⁵ Even though it seems that the king and the ministers are more

important than others, it is difficult for the state to work efficiently without the co-operation of the other elements. Likewise, the king was neither considered a tyrant nor his power absolute.

There is sufficient evidence to state that the ministerial council functioned well in Āndhradēśa during this period. The two copper plate grants of Vīra Chōḍa—Chellūru plates and the Pithāpuram plates—state that the executors of the two grants were the five ministers—the *Pañchapradhānas*.²⁶ According to the Teki plates of Rājārājachōḍa Ganga, the prince issued an order in the presence of his *mantri* (councillor), *pu-ōhita* (family priest), *sēnāpati* (commander of the army), *yuvarāja* (heir-apparent), *dauvārika* (door-keeper) and the *pradhāna* (minister).²⁷ References in this regard are not wanting from the lithic records of the period. A stone record from the Appikatla in Bapatla taluk, Guntur district²⁸ and an epigraph dated 1148 A.D. issued by Nanne Chōḍa²⁹ refer to *rāshṭrakūṭapramukhān*, *mantri*, *purōhita*, *sēnāpati*, *yuvarāja* and *dauvārika*. Sufficient information is lacking in regard to the strength of the ministerial council but in some epigraphs of the period stray references are found. Ordinarily, the number of ministers appear to have been five as may be inferred from the common use of the term *pañchapradhānas*.

There are a few references to the ministers in the literary works of the period. The Tamil poem *Kaḷiṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār says that king Kulōttunga I, while camping at Kāñchi was surrounded by his ministers like Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān. Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān was referred to in this work as the prime minister of Kulōttunga I.³⁰ Because of the scantiness of the information, it is difficult to ascertain the exact functions of a minister in the administration. Whether his duties were deliberative or directive or they included executive functions also, besides holding the portfolio of a particular department as minister is not clear. But it is certain that the minister occupied a place in the administration which was only next to that of the king and during the absence or the minority of the king, he carried on the administration of the

empire. Pallavarāyar, the prime minister of the Chōla king Rājārāja II and Rājādhirāja II occupied an unique position in the administration of the Chōla empire. Besides being responsible for the general administration of the kingdom, the prime minister was usually in-charge of some additional work connected with the palace. Thus, it is of much interest to note that the prime minister of Rājādhirāja II was the controller of the big household of the king.³¹

In the lithic records of Āndhradeśa the terms such as *amātya*, *mantrin*, *sachiva*, *pradhāni* and *peggaḍa* which usually denote a minister associated largely with the civil administration are noticed.³² Interesting information is forthcoming from the epigraphs of this period in regard to the ministers employed by the kings as well as by the local chieftains, though the details regarding their functions remain obscure. By a close study of the epigraphs of the period, it is clear that the office of the minister was occupied by the persons irrespective of their castes. Generally, this position was occupied by the persons belonging to the Brahmin caste as noticed from *Kēyūrabāhu Charitramu* written by Manchana. In it Manchana states that several persons in the family of Nandūri Guṇḍaya *mantri* served the Velanāṭi chiefs as the ministers.³³ In an inscription from Narnepadu dated 1151 A.D., Komma, a brahmin well-versed in *āgamas* (scriptures) was referred to as the minister of the emperor (*sārvabhauma*) Rājendra Chōḍa who placed him in charge of the Kammadeśa giving him several royal emblems.³⁴ Curious information is coming from a stone record at Nekaraikallu in Guntur district dated 1195 A.D. that one Cōḍapasetṭi, a vaisya was a minister (*amātya*). Evidence is coming from few records found at Drākṣārāma, regarding the employment of non-brahmins as the ministers. The Haihayas of Kōna employed few non-brahmin ministers for the reasons unknown. For instance, the Kōna chief Satya I had the ministers Surapa Reddi, son of Singi Reddi.³⁵ In the case of the Haihayas of Palnād there was a lady minister at the head of the kingdom and the hereditary ministers were the sudras. Few ministers were mentioned in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*. They were Jātināyūḍu,

Dodḍanāyudu, Teppali Nāyudu, Brahma Nāyudu, and Nāyakurālu Nagamma. In some of the records of the period, the minister was called variously as *sarvādhikāri*³⁶ and *mahāpradhāna*.³⁷ The inscriptions revealed the names of *mahāpradhāna* Kēśava,³⁸ Kētanāmātya,³⁹ Annayamantri,⁴⁰ and Mallaya Pregarāḍa.⁴¹ The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief Erṇamaṇḍa had Sūrana of the Śūdra family, as the *mahāpradhāni*, who was very much interested in the improvement of the kingdom.⁴² By a close study of the records of this period it is evident that the kings acted according to the advice of the ministers. In *Palnāṭivīra Charitra* Brahma Nāyudu, a minister was described as a trust-worthy, truthful, frank and wise person and administered the kingdom in the interests of the subjects. If the prime minister did not hold the portfolio of the foreign ministry, it was held by another member of the ministerial council. In the records of the period he is referred to as the *mahāsandhivigrahika* or *sandhivigrahika*, i.e., the minister of war and peace. It can be assumed that *mahāsandhivigrahika* had a number of subordinate foreign ministers—*sandhivigrahikas* each probably in-charge of the foreign affairs relating to one or two particular regions in the empire.⁴³

The *Purōhita* who occupied an important place in the ministerial council of the king and took a great part in the administration in early times appears to have ceased to enjoy that high distinction in the period under study. His position is reduced to that of a religious *guru* or preceptor of the king and is not associated with the regular administration of the country. But his position was supreme in the royal household in the sense that he was associated with all the religious and social functions in the palace, including the coronation of the king. The main duty of the *purōhita* was to protect the nation by performing the requisite rituals to counteract the designs of the enemies as well as to safeguard the country from famines and other catastrophies. Generally, he was expected to be well versed in various *sāstras*, as well as in political science. Even though he has been referred in a number of records⁴⁴ of the period, not much is known about him.

Another important member of the royal council was the *sēnāpati* or *sainyādhipati*.⁴⁵ He is sometimes known from the records as *saṁṛsta sēnādhipati*⁴⁶ (commander of all forces). The commander-in-chief of the forces was occasionally designated as *daṇḍanāyaka*,⁴⁷ an official designation by which many important officers of the government were called from very early times. *Daḥavāy*, *daḥādhikāri*, *daṇḍanāyaka*, *chamūpati*, *paḍavālu*, *nāyaka* were all the officers under *sēnāpati* of various gradations in-charge of various units according to their rank in that order. Of all the officers, the *nāyakas* occupied a low position.

Like the other powers in South India, the Chālukya-Chōḷa rulers maintained a force consisting of elephants, horses, and infantry. To maintain the integrity of the country against the ambitious and powerful enemies, the maintenance of a reasonably strong and disciplined military force was indispensable. The elephants played a very important role in the warfare and victory in the battle mainly and greatly depended on them. It has been stated in the Tamil work *Kaḷiṅgatiupparani* that Kulōttunga I caught elephants in Vayirāgāram and captured Sakkarakōṭṭam while he was a *yuyarāja*.⁴⁸ The Naṇḍūru plates of Rājendra Chōḍa mention that Chōḍa had the very best of horses and the elephants.⁴⁹ There are several references in the lithic records of Āndhradeśa in regard to the defeating of the elephant forces of the enemies.⁵⁰ According to Manchana, 100 elephants always wandered in the city of Chōḍa and 40,000 horses were ever ready in his service.⁵¹ The existence of offices like *gajasāhiṇi* and *aśvasāhiṇi* indicates that the practice of training the elephants and the horses was in vogue.⁵² The part played by the horses and camels in the warfare can be attested by the records of Drākṣārāma.⁵³ It has been stated in them that in the battle of Gōḍavārī the Western Chālukyan military officials were captured along with a large number of their forces such as horses (*khōṭaka*=*ghōṭaka*) and camels.⁵⁴ The participation of the horses and the elephants can be assumed by Manchana's literary work.⁵⁵ Foot soldiers formed the bulk of the army in this period.⁵⁶ The infantry was divided into four divisions of

warriors according to the weapons they used in fighting or by the way in which their services were remunerated. There is a very good account of the Kāliṅgan conquest and the battle of Kārempūḍi in the two famous literary works—*Kāliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*. According to these works the weapons of war used in those periods were swords, daggers, maces, javelins, spears, discs, battle axes, bows and arrows. It seems that each warrior was well equipped with bow and arrow and shield and other necessary weapons of offence and defence. Nanne Chōḍa narrates the march of the army to the battle-field in *Kumārasambhavam*. It is stated in it that after the forces were assembled, the war drums sounded.⁵⁷ Different kinds of musical instruments like trumpets, kettle-drums, conchs and others were at play during the march of the army and the battle. Advance guard was sent to trace the movements of the enemy and to clear the way. The necessary equipment and the boxes filled with treasure followed the army. Elephants were placed in the rear. The families of the king, ministers, general and the chiefs followed the army. A part of the army was allotted to safeguard these families.

Although the rulers of this period swore by the *Śāstraic* (scriptural) injunctions regarding rules of righteous warfare, in practice, and probably, in the heat and vengeance of war, they appear to have conveniently ignored these rules, which insist that the cows, peace-loving Brāhmins, women, invalids etc. should not be injured. There are a few references that when the invading army marched into enemy's country, on its way, it usually indulged in destructive work such as setting fire to villages and plundering the people of their belongings.⁵⁸ The *Kāliṅgattupparaṇi* contains descriptions of the depredations of the Chōla army under Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān during its progress into the Kāliṅga country. Referring to these depredations the work says : "when the army entered, like a vast ocean, even the Gods trembled and whole villages were set afire, sacked and ruined".⁵⁹ Further it describes thus : "the walls are falling, houses are blazing and the smoke is rising, all that is fair is being wrecked and we are ruined".⁶⁰

The members of all four castes were recruited to the ranks of army. Generally, most of the military positions were occupied by the members of the Śūdra community, as most of the ruling dynasties of this period belong to Śūdra caste. A record from Chēbrōlu gives a graphic description of the splendid military services of Sūrana, a general of the army who belongs to the Śūdra community.⁶¹ The military commanders and generals were given lands as fiefs for their maintenance and lesser officials were allotted lands as salaries. In recognition of the maritorious services, some officials were rewarded with regal insignia and lordship over vast tracts of land.⁶² In *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu* Manchana gives a graphic description of the fighting capacity of Komma, minister of Chōḍa II.⁶³ In that he has been described as a person who could pierce 2 or 3 horses with his nails at a time, and could break the backs of the kings facing him, kill with his sword the elephant as though it were sheep, and behead its rider by his arrows and make his elephant walk on its head and those of kings and break the heads of the elephants in the battle field.

It is noticed from the inscriptions that the trade guilds maintained a band of soldiers for their protection. To ensure safety for themselves and their goods while moving from place to place along routes infested with wild beasts, carrying weapons with them as well as travelling in groups were the minimum precautions. Further, the caravans often employ the professional fighters to accompany them, which was known as *samaya sēna* or *srēnīvālas*. In addition to the *samaya sēnas* engaged by the trade guilds the records often mention that the state also employed such guilds. An inscription from Bapatla dated Śaka 1071 registers a gift to a temple of one Kannisetṭi,⁶⁴ son of Jakkamanāyakurālu and Brammisetṭi. The donor of the grant, Kannisetṭi is described as *Kulōttunga Gāṅgēyarāya samaya-sēnādhipati*. *Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gāṅgēya* was Gonka II of Velanadu. Hence *Gāṅgēyarāya samaya* would mean the official or state guild set up by Gonka II. Another record from Simhāchalam dated Śaka 1026 registers a cash gift to the local temple by Ćirukkūri Appani Rāma,

who was a trader from Chōla maṇḍala and who bore the title-*padunenimidi-bhūmirājarāja-samaya chakravarti*,⁶⁵ (Emperor of the guild of 18 villages set up by Rājarāja). Rājarāja mentioned here was Rājarāja II, son of Kulōttunga I. Hence it is clear that this was also an official or state-guild set up by Rājarāja.

Dauvārika or *pratihāri* was another important member of the ministerial council.⁶⁶ In this period an elaborate system of espionage was organised in the military system of the country. The actual employment of spies by the kings and their existence in the country is not borne out by any of the inscriptions of the period. But evidence is forthcoming from the near contemporary written records of this period. According to them, the intelligence department and the code of laws were considered to be the two eyes of the king.⁶⁷ It was through the spies that the monarch learnt the happenings in his kingdom. The main duty of the spy is to investigate the secrets of the neighbouring kings, officers, and his relatives and enemies.⁶⁸ After going deep into the secrets of others he had to make a clear and precise report to the king. The king should give a patient hearing to what he heard from the spies and think over the reported matter. The spy was to be paid more than what he expected.⁶⁹ The spies in this period were generally referred to as *vēgulavāṇḍru*, *keṭṭikāṇḍru* and *chārulu*.⁷⁰ From the account given in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*, it is evident that spies were employed by the kingdoms of Mācherla and Gurizāla. Nāgamma sent Ellāḍu to espy the kingdom of Mācherla. The spy was taken to the court of Mallidēva and shown round the kingdom and set free by Brahmanāyūḍu. The spy Ellāḍu, on his return to Gurizāla, gave glowing accounts of the kingdom of Mācherla.⁷¹

Another important official during this period was the ambassador. Even though the office of the ambassador was a temporary one created for specific purposes, it was an important one with grave responsibilities.⁷² They were appointed whenever necessity arose and were sent to the foreign courts with particular business of special nature.

There is much evidence in regard to the functions and qualifications of such ambassadors in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*. The ambassador was a much respected person and his importance rose with the importance of his mission. The ambassador was free from political bias and spirit of partisanship and he was expected to be shown great respect wherever he went, for he was the representative of the king. Hence, any disrespect shown to him was considered to be a grave sin and usually disregard shown to him would lead to war and the best example for this is the Palnāḍ war.

The inscriptions show a few novel features in the administration of the country. In the wake of the fusion of the Chālukya-Chōḷa crowns by Kulōttunga I there was the influx of the Tamilian ideas into Āndhradēśa. For the first time, there is the appointment of viceroys to rule over Andhra regions in 1076 A.D. As a consequence of this fusion of crowns, many officers were imported from the Tamil country into Telugu country. From the records found at Drākṣārāma and Mukhalingam, the presence of several Tamilian officers in Andhra regions is evident in this period. The stone record found at Drākṣārāma dated in the 33rd year of Kulōttunga mentions the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers variously named as Vanḍuvarāja, Pallavarāja, Tiruvaranga.⁷³ The Tamil influence seems to have spread far into the Ganga territories also during this period which can be evidenced by the presence of several records found at Mukhalingam. Tamilian personal names and titles of the donors and the officers are observed in the records of Mukhalingam. In a record there is a donor with the surname Rājarāja Vilupparāya.⁷⁴ In this context, it is not out of place to mention the names of the donors from the records of Mukhalingam such as Ganga Vilupparāya,⁷⁵ Chōḷaṇḍi's daughter Pemmāṇḍi,⁷⁶ Ganga Mārtāṇḍa Brahmamārāya,⁷⁷ Chuttāḍi,⁷⁸ Pratāpa Ganga Velāṇḍu,⁷⁹ Ganga Velāṇḍi Oḍayāṇḍināyaka and Komārāṇḍināyaka.⁸⁰ In addition to this, it is interesting to take note of the Tamil official title *puravari*.⁸¹

Another major reform in the administration of the

Andhra regions was the introduction of the feudal system of government. This policy was first introduced by Kulōttunga I. The introduction of this new policy was mainly to safeguard the Andhra territories from the ambitious and aggressive designs of the powerful neighbouring powers, the Chālukyas of Kalyani and Gangas of Kaṭiṅga. The main aim of Kulōttunga I in initiating this policy was to raise the leading families, who had been serving the Eastern Chālukyas for several generations faithfully, to feudatory status by conferring on them the insignia of royalty, so that they might buffer the position of viceroys with their own might. Such families were the Chōḍas of Velanāḍu, Koṇḍapaḍumatis of Nādeṇḍla, Parichchēdis of Omḡerumārga, Haihayas of Kōṇa, Kōṭa chiefs of Dharaṇikōṭa etc. The imperial policy of Kulōttunga I thus made several of the ruling dynasties to gain *de facto* authority of Andhra by their strength of arms. The *mahāmaṇḍalēsvaras* had their own family ensigns and emblems and were entitled to the honour of *pañcamahāśabda* i.e., the five great musical instruments.⁸² The records do not throw much light on the duties and obligations of these feudatories nor on their relationship with the sovereign. The feudatories were more or less loyal towards the Chālukya-Chōḷa rulers and acknowledged their names in their records with few exceptions.

The system of vassalage and feudatories dominated the Chōḷa polity right from the time of Rājārāja I down to the fall of the Chōḷa dynasty.⁸³ The *māṇḍalikas* or the feudatory chieftains accompanied the ruling Chālukya-Chōḷa monarchs in times of invasions and wars. The Chālukya-Chōḷas were successful in the Kaṭiṅga wars and in repelling the Western Chālukyan attacks with the support of the feudatory chieftains such as the Velanāṭi Chōḷas, Kōṭas of Dharaṇikōṭa and Koṇḍapaḍumatis of Nādeṇḍla. The successes in all these wars made the *māṇḍalikas* much powerful and heightened their local stature. After the successful battle of Gōḍāvarī, several feudatories ceased to acknowledge the names of the Chālukya-Chōḷa kings in their records. The unusual growth in the influence of the feudatories weakened the prestige of the royalty. It seems that almost all the chieftains in Āndhradeśa

began to exercise *de facto* rule, owing nominal allegiance to Chālukya-Chōlas in the 2nd half of 12th century A.D. These local chieftains took advantage of the king's dependence on them and regulated their conduct accordingly towards the king. The authority of the king was so much circumscribed, that he was unable to bring his vassals under control. Such political chieftains of a hereditary character undermined the authority of the central government.⁸⁴

For the sake of administrative convenience, the country was divided into various small units. A full and accurate description of the territorial organisation of the kingdom is not possible in the absence of the required data. However, a few scattered notices collected from the epigraphs show that the administrative divisions fell into the following classes,⁸⁵ (1) *dēśa*, (2) *maṇḍala*, (3) *valanāḍu*, (4) *nāḍu*, (5) *viśaya*, (6) *vāḍi* and (7) *sthala*.

Of these, *dēśa* was the largest and the *sthala* was the smallest administrative division in the country. The *Āndhra-dēśa*⁸⁶ of the records is applied to a very vast region bounded on four sides by the Eastern Ocean, the Kalahasti hill (between Chittoor and Nellore), the Mahēndra mountain (in Ganjam district) and Srisaṭṭa (in Kurnool district). The *Kōṭa-dēśa* approximately includes the modern Sattenapalle, Guntur and Narasaraopet taluks of the Guntur district. The *Kōṇa-dēśa* roughly corresponds to the present day Amalapuram and Razole taluks of the East Godavari district.⁸⁷ The *Velanāḍu-dēśa* lies to the south of the river Krishna and approximately corresponds to the eastern portion of the Guntur district.⁸⁸ In a few records, it has been stated that the *Velanāḍu-dēśa* consists of 6,000 or 6,300 villages.⁸⁹ The *Kamma-dēśa* embraces some parts of Narasaraopet, Vinukonda, Ongole, Markapuram taluks of Guntur, Prakasam and Kurnool districts.⁹⁰ The *Vēṅgi-dēśa* mentioned in the epigraphs of the period appears to have extended upto Mahēndragiri in Ganjam district and Mannēru in the Nellore district along the east coast—(*mannēr-mahēndra-madhyavartina*).⁹¹

The Vēṅgi-*maṇḍalam*⁹² of the records might have been a sub-division of Vēṅgi-*dēśa*. Likewise, the Kōna-*maṇḍalam*⁹³ of the Pithāpuram pillar inscription may be the sub-division of Kōna-*dēśa*. The other *maṇḍalas* referred to in the records were Malaya-*maṇḍalam*,⁹⁴ Jayagoṇḍachōla-*maṇḍalam*,⁹⁵ Uttama-chōla-*maṇḍalam*,⁹⁶ and Chōḍa-*maṇḍalam*.⁹⁷

The *valanāḍu* divisions mentioned in the records are Gangagoṇḍachōla-*valanāḍu*,⁹⁸ Nityavinōda-*valanāḍu*,⁹⁹ Biru-darājabhayamkara-*valanāḍu*,¹⁰⁰ Uyakkonḍachōḍa-*valanāḍu*,¹⁰¹ and Uttamachōla-*valanāḍu*.¹⁰² Further, the inscriptions refer to several *nāḍus*. They were Vēṅgi-*nāḍu*,¹⁰³ Kamma-*nāḍu*,¹⁰⁴ Prōlu-*nāḍu*,¹⁰⁵ Pāka-*nāḍu*,¹⁰⁶ Vela-*nāḍu*,¹⁰⁷ Sakatāmantani-*nāḍu*,¹⁰⁸ Kolanu-*nāḍu*,¹⁰⁹ and Manni-*nāḍu*.¹¹⁰

Another popular administrative division in this period is the *vishaya*. The Velanāḍu-*vishaya*¹¹¹ roughly corresponds to the present day Guntur district. The Sailapratichi-*vishaya*,¹¹² may be identified with the eastern portion of the Sattenapalle taluk of the Guntur district.¹¹³ The Vēṅgi-*vishaya*,¹¹⁴ may be a sub-division of Vēṅgi-*dēśa*.¹¹⁵ Gudravāra-*Vishaya*,¹¹⁶ was also a popular administrative division mentioned in the records. The Kolanu-*vishaya* includes the present day Eluru and Tanuku taluks of the West Godavari district. The Nātavāḍu-*vishaya* is also known as Konnātavāḍi-*vishaya*.¹¹⁷ A record of the Chāgis refers to Vijayavāṭi-*vishaya* which probably corresponds to the present day Vijayawada and its immediate neighbourhood.¹¹⁸ Few records mention the Kammanāṭi-*sthala*¹¹⁹ and Kōna-*sthala*.¹²⁰ The other administrative division mentioned in the epigraphs is the *vāḍi*.¹²¹ Ivani Kaṇḍra-*vāḍi*¹²² of the records probably corresponds to some parts of Guntur and Sattenapalle taluks. Doḍḍakaṇḍra-*vāḍi*¹²³ may roughly corresponds to the present day Sattenapalle and Tenali Taluks of the Guntur district.¹²⁴ Kōnakaṇḍra-*vāḍi*¹²⁵ includes some portions of Guntur, Sattenapalle and Tenali taluks of the Guntur district. Nāta-*vāḍi*¹²⁶ corresponds to the Nandigama taluk of Krishna district. From these, it appears that there is a good deal of looseness about the use of terms to denote the

territorial units. The references to the terms *nāḍus*, *rāshtras*, *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas* in the records show that they were synonymous and employed loosely to denote a district. For example, Vēṅgi is sometimes called a *maṇḍala*, a *vishaya* and a *nāḍu*.¹²⁷ Another point of particular interest is the Tamil influence on names of the several territorial divisions. Most of them were named after the names of the Chālukya-Chōla rulers,¹²⁸ as well as their titles.¹²⁹ It is of interest to note that these divisions were generally named after the principal town or city or fort of the division concerned.¹³⁰

The important feature of the administrative divisions in the period was the adoption of decimal and duodecimal systems. According to this, the kingdoms were divided into circles of villages numbering ten or multiples of tens and twelves.¹³¹ The numerical figures suffixed to these divisions would probably represent the number of villages. The records mention Vēṅgi 16000,¹³² Vēṅgi 1000,¹³³ Vēṅgi 1200,¹³⁴ Siripuram 12,¹³⁵ and Prēmipalli 40.¹³⁶ It has been observed by the Government epigraphist that the designation of the division Siripuram twelve villages reminds the practice of the Kannada inscriptions naming the local divisions together with their territorial extent, a practice not so commonly found in the Telugu inscriptions.¹³⁷ The *agrahāra* villages in the records generally bear the suffix *chaturvēdimangalam*, which is an influence from the Tamil country.¹³⁸

It is clear from what has been said about that *maṇḍalas* were the largest and the *agrahāra* villages were the smallest and the *nāḍus* were intermediary territorial divisions of this period.

As a result of the matrimonial relations between the Chōlas and Gangas and because of the frequent Chōla invasions of Kalinga, the region of Mukhalingam was subject to Tamil influence to a considerable extent. And this was predominant during the reign of Anantavarma Chōḍaganga.¹³⁹ An epigraph at Mukhalingam mentions that adjacent to it was a tract known as Chōḍa-nāḍu. The name of this administrative

division was obviously derived from the impact of the Chōlas on this region.¹⁴⁰

Over each *maṇḍalam* was appointed a governor either from among the members of the Imperial house or from the members of the feudatory families. As the kings found it a difficult task to have effective hold over the distant provinces, they appointed governors over many *maṇḍalams*. Kulōttunga I entrusted to the Velanāṭi chief Chōḍa I, the rulership of Vēṅṭi 16,000 and gave him all the royal emblems.¹⁴¹ Kulōttunga I reinstated the conquered rulers like the Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala in their respective territories apparently on condition of their recognising his over-lordship. In the Chālukya-Chōla dominions, there were a number of hereditary feudal chiefs, who were allowed to administer their fiefs but kept under strong control by the emperors. But with the increasing weakness of the central government in the last quarter of 12th Century A.D., chieftains enjoyed a considerable measure of independence in their respective areas and owed only formal allegiance to the ruling Chālukya-Chōla monarchs. Hence by this period (last quarter of 12th Century A.D.), all the well-knit, carefully woven and integrated system of provincial organisation that had been steadily built, gave way. Information regarding the position enjoyed by the ministers and other officials is scanty in the scheme of provincial administration. It seems that some of the governors and ministers were appointed by the kings. Oriḡaṇḍi Rēmana, the minister of Kulōttunga I, was placed in-charge of Kammadeśa with several royal emblems.¹⁴² The provincial head was usually assisted by ministers, council, and assembly and officials in administering the province. Apart from the governors of the provinces, there were a number of heads of administrative units bearing various official designations.

The assemblies or the councils of the provinces were convened sometimes by the king during his visits to the temples or at some other places. Like the administrative machinery at the centre, the provincial organisation had *mantrin*, *purōhita*, *pradhāni* and the *rashtrakūṭa pramukhas* as the members of its council. The Velanāṭi chief Chōḍa II assembled the people

of Kamma-naḍu.¹⁴³ The governors of the provinces held own courts, appointed the officers, maintained the armies and enjoyed a good amount of local autonomy within their jurisdiction without any interferences from the central government, so long as they were regular in the discharge of their obligation to it. An important feature to be noted during this period is the internecine warfare among the chieftains of the several provinces. As the interference of the Chōḷas in the affairs of the Andhra regions became less with the increasing setbacks in the Chōḷa dominions, the vassal feudal chieftains enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy and undertook wars and contracted alliances among themselves without any reference to the central government. It is likely that the larger provinces such as the Velanāḍu and the Kōnamāṇḍala regions enjoyed a great amount of independence without any hostility to the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa monarchs at the expense of several other minor provinces.

The administration of the *grāmas* or villages was usually carried by the councils or the *sabhas*. In the administration of the country, the village councils constitute a special feature and it seems that the village had been organised as a distinct corporate political entity, enjoying a high degree of autonomy, possessing distinct rights and discharging definite duties. According to the *Vēdas*, *Dharma sūtras*, and *Dharma śāstras*—the inhabitants of each village managed their own affairs through an assembly and an executive, consisting of the *grāmaṇi*, who was the chief executive officer and a council of two to five members.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes, the rulers nominated the village headman or *grāmaṇi* who was the chief executive officer of the village assembly. Usually, the post of the *grāmaṇi* was hereditary and held by a non-Brahmin.¹⁴⁵ Either he was nominated or occupied that position through the heredity, the village headman was no more than an agent of the *sabha*.¹⁴⁶ In the reign of Velanāṭi Gonka II Jillama Redḍi was the *grāmaṇi* of Gautamīpura in Velanāḍu-vishaya.¹⁴⁷

The prime duty of the village headman was the defence of the village. He was the chief officer incharge of the militia

of the village and the most influential person in the village. His next important duty was to collect the revenue of the government. He was the chief custodian of the necessary records and used to carry out the work of collection in consultation with the village council.¹⁴⁸

During this period certain popular institutions developed. The functions, the number and variety of the village corporations had become more complex and their importance in the administration has been greatly increased. Probably, all respectable householders were entitled to become the members of the primary assembly of the village. The village council consisted of the village officials and non-officials and all important persons of the village. The *mahājanas* or the elite that have been occasionally mentioned in the epigraphs¹⁴⁹ of this period could have carried on the administration of the village through an executive committee or council. In the inscriptions the term *mahājanulu* occurs as a suffix to the name of a particular town or village,¹⁵⁰ i.e., Koḍamagūḍa *mahajanulu*, Undavelli *mahājanulu*, Kāvūri *mahājanulu* and Duggarēlapuṇḍi *mahājanulu*, it can as well be stated that all these were independent organisations of this period. Information regarding the functions and duties of these *mahājana* organisations is scanty. Probably, the *mahājanulu* were the traditional custodians of culture and professional promoters of knowledge and were usually rewarded by grants of villages or lands free from taxes by the rulers and citizens. An inscription at Pedakoḍamagunḍla¹⁵¹ states that the officials of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonka and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kāmarāju Mallirāju assigned to the *mahājanulu* of Koḍamagūḍa an *agrahāra* village and a number of local taxes for the maintenance in that place of *dēvabhōgas* like *naivēdyam* and perpetual lamps for the maintenance of *sanyāsis* (ascetics) and students. It is also clear from the records that one of the important functions of the *mahājana* assemblies was related to the administration of religious institutions like the temples and the *maṭhas*.¹⁵² Apart from this, another function of the assembly was the distribution of collectively received gifts of lands or villages. The donors of the grants at times fixed the shares of the individuals when

a village was gifted to the *mahājanulu*. But at times, the donor merely stipulated that the land gifted was to be distributed among the several members of the *mahājanulu*. In such cases, the land was distributed by the elite (*mahājanulu*) which was not usually equal. It is of particular interest to note that the land gifted was never equal¹⁵³ and the information regarding the differentiating character is scanty. Hence, it can as well be assumed that the shares of the members of *mahājanulu* varied according to their scholarly achievements and at times, the relative size of the families.¹⁵⁴

The *mahājana* assemblies used to manage schools, and several works in regard to the maintenance of the public utilities like tanks, build rest houses and raise subscriptions for public purposes.¹⁵⁵ They also acted as trustees and bankers guaranteeing for all time to carry the proper utilisation of the trust funds entrusted to their care. In this regard, evidence is forthcoming from the epigraphs of this period. One record from Chezerla in Guntur district dated 1140 A.D. registers the gift of goats for a perpetual lamp in the local temple and states that the Kāparāja *mahājanulu* agreed to maintain the lamp.¹⁵⁶ By this it can be concluded that like the other corporate bodies of the time, the *mahājanulu* possessed corporate property and undertook collective responsibilities and acted as the modern banks. In general, the records mention that the *mahājana* organisations existed in towns and villages other than in the *Agrahāra* villages. The *agrahāra* villages were the tax-free villages given to the Brahmins by the kings and citizens for the pursuit of spiritual knowledge. In these villages, the primary assembly was known as *sabha*, maintained by the learned Brahmins. As these *agrahāras* were the tax-free villages, they were not subject to any control by the state and were fully autonomous and self-governing.

The village assemblies or the corporations usually discharged executive and judicial functions from the earliest times. During this period, the functions of these corporations were like the works of a modern municipality such as the construction and maintenance of tanks, wells, irrigation

channels and rest-houses.¹⁵⁷ From the epigraphs it is evident that the village corporations had the right to acquire the corporate property, levy taxes, impose fines, raise loans and to register the royal decrees. A record from Pamulapadu¹⁵⁸ states that the *samastapraja* (all residents) of that place gifted for the merit of the Velanāḍu chief Rājendra Chōḍa, some land to the local temple and its staff. Another record from Gaṇapavaram registers that the whole people of that place gifted for the merit of Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḷa, a *vritti* (grant as salary) of land to the temple builder.¹⁵⁹ A record dated 1162 A.D. from Nudurupāḍu registers the gifts of lands and several *vrittis* by all the people of Rāmki to the important persons of Mūlasthānēśvara temple who were serving the God in different capacities for the merit of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śrīkulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa. In this record, the word *Rāmki samastapraja* was used.¹⁶⁰ The term *samastapraja* used in the records refers to the inhabitants of the place as a corporate body. Even though there is sufficient information relating to the existence of the village assembly or the committee, evidence is lacking in regard to the actual administrative machinery. In a few records reference is made to the terms *ūrināyakulu* and *grāmnāyakulu* (chiefs of village), which obviously means the leaders of the villages.¹⁶¹ A record dated in 1177 A.D. at Bhimavaram states that the *śrīvaiṣṇavas* and the *ūrināyakas* gifted a *vritti* of land and house site to an architect obviously at remuneration for some work done and to be done in the local temple. Probably, the *ūrinayakulu* and the *grāmanāyakulu* of the records may be taken as the chiefs, or the executive of the village committees. In some inscriptions, reference is made to the term *śrīvaiṣṇavas*.¹⁶² A number of records in the Simhāchalām temple end with *Śrīvaiṣṇavaraksha*¹⁶³ (refuge of *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*) and *śrī* 3, 4 or 5 times repeated. There are a few passages, wherein the donor makes a fervent and eloquent appeal to the *vaiṣṇavas* to protect and administer the donations made by him. Probably, this denotes a group of responsible members, constituted for the administration of the temple, for, the objects of the grant had to be fulfilled daily in the manner stipulated in the grant by the donor. Presumably, this term could mean a regularly consti-

tuted committee of vaiṣṇava elders exercising authority over the entire temple administration. The observation of a few records of an early date¹⁶⁴ yields a very good account of the conduct and the salient features of the guild of *vaiṣṇavas*.¹⁶⁵ They inform us that the guild of *vaiṣṇavas* was a caste organisation and its membership was confined to the Brahmin community among the followers of vaiṣṇavism. Like the other guilds of the time, the guild of *vaiṣṇavas* appears to have elected or selected leaders, who were called *Vaiṣṇavanāyakas*. Whether they were paid any regular wages for undertaking this responsibility, is not known. But they were allotted lands in *agrahāras*, and were entitled shares along with other guilds attached to the temple such as the *sānulu* (temple girls). As the *vaiṣṇavas* were known for their unimpeachable character, conduct and devotion to the service of the deity, they were entrusted to look after the temple finances as well as appointed as jurors in judicial tribunals by the rulers as and when need arose.¹⁶⁶

An inscription dated 1144 A.D. at Bapatla,¹⁶⁷ records the gift of cows by the wife of Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa Gonka for a lamp in the local temple. This was entrusted to the care of a certain person who has to supply ghee for the lamp. After that few lines are lost and then refers to the Forty of Prēmpalli. As the record is in a much damaged state, that part might have recorded a gift to the temple by the 40 of Prēmpalli which refers to the Assembly of that place or probably a committee of that Assembly.

In the inscriptions, there are several references to *reḍḍis* and *raṭṭaḍis*.¹⁶⁸ Probably, this was the designation of a person on whom the Lordship of the territory was conferred.¹⁶⁹ An inscription dated 1143 A.D. refers to Ayatamanayaka as the Redḍi of Kurungallu village in Ivanikaṇḍravāḍi and Dāvulūru in Velanāḍu as a faithful servant of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa.¹⁷⁰ Hence it may be assumed that the *reḍḍis* or the *raṭṭaḍis* were the heads of the village or its executive. An undated record of Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja at Dharaṇikōṭa refers to the *raṭṭaḍis* of Nātavāḍu.¹⁷¹ It is of particular

interest to note in this regard, a record from Drākṣārāma.¹⁷² This record was dated in the 15th year of Kulōttunga I, and mentions the name of Chōḍa Gangadēva and records a vow. It is further stated that the vow had been taken in the name of the Velanāṭi chief Gonkarāja and Lord Bhīmeśvara Mahādēva and in the presence of a number of *raṭṭaḍis* from several places.¹⁷³ In this context it mentions the names of Sūrapa *raṭṭaḍi* of Naḍukuduri, Ayitama *raṭṭaḍi* of Āṇḍapuri, Kāmi *raṭṭaḍi* of Beṇḍavipūṇḍi and Sōmi *raṭṭaḍi* of Pemballivāḍa. As this record mentions the reigning Chālukya-Chōla king and his representative in Āndhradeśa viz., the Velanāṭi chief, it can be assumed that probably these *raṭṭaḍis* were the officials or the heads of the several villages and places mentioned in the record.

The *nāyakas* that has been mentioned in the records of this period might refer to a separate subcaste or most probably to their official designation. The Nudurupāḍu pillar inscription mentions the *nāyakas* of Rāmki.¹⁷⁴ This inscription registers the gifts made by the *nāyakas* of Rāmki to the Mūlasthānēśvara temple of the village. They were described in it as "the worshippers of the feet of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa" and "the Lords of the town of Rāmki as bees to the lotus feet of the rulers of the Giripaśchima country". The *manneyas* are another class of officials, occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions. It seems that they held assignments of land or revenue in different villages, but nothing is known about them. In the Ellore copper plate record of Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa¹⁷⁵ reference has been made to the gift of 12 villages free of all taxes and conferred with the honour of *manniya nibaddādhipatiyamu* (authority conferred on *manniya*).

In addition to these, there were several communal and commercial bodies which looked after their own affairs, generally, without the interference of the state. They were the craft guilds or the trade guilds and maintained not only the business matters but also their social and religious affairs. In the inscriptions reference is made to *nagara* or *nakara* and

Teliki *vē uru* and *Teliki* 1000, which were the merchant guilds of this period.

Generally, the villages, which were a tract of land comprising a number of homesteads and some hundreds of *puṭṭis* of arable and waste lands, consisted of a number of servants who were remunerated with the lands for their services by the villagers or by the state. Their names varied according to the locality. The records of this period mention a number of village servants. They are *purōhit*,¹⁷⁶ *karaṇam*,¹⁷⁷ *reḍḍi*,¹⁷⁸ *talāri*,¹⁷⁹ blacksmith,¹⁸⁰ goldsmith,¹⁸¹ carpenter,¹⁸² potter,¹⁸³ washerman,¹⁸⁴ barber,¹⁸⁵ etc.

The *purōhit* was the village priest and usually belongs to the brahmin caste. His main duty was to conduct religious ceremonies in the houses of the villagers. He was the person that fixes the auspicious days and to warn people against inauspicious times. Every member of the village consults him before undertaking any important matter. He informs the people of the good and bad omens of the day and was generally well-versed in Sanskrit and a learned person in *Vaid ka dharma* (order of the Vēdas).

The *karaṇam* was the chief accountant of the village, looked after various accounts and maintained the registers of the village. His main business was to assign lands to the farmers and collecting the share of the king from them. All the business transactions on behalf of the village should be done only with the consent of the village *karaṇams*. Anything that was done without his knowledge on behalf of the village was considered to be illegal. Thus, he was the chief custodian of the registration regarding the transactions of the village. Another important duty of the *karaṇam* was to measure the extent and keep the accounts of the cultivable, the non-cultivable and the waste lands, gardens, dry fields, and pastures. Every document or deed concerning the land of the village was properly written and signed by the witness. It seems, that in all these works he was closely associated by the *reḍḍi* or head of the village.

The *talāri* was the police officer who maintained law and order in the village. He was the person responsible for the property and lives of the people in the village. A record at Drākṣārāma mentions Muppamrāṇināyaka as the *talāri* of the Velanāṭi chief Prithvīśvara.¹⁸⁶ The other village servants such as blacksmith, goldsmith, carpenter, potter, washerman were not paid in cash for their services to the village community but land was granted for their livelihood.

Apart from the above said village servants, the inscriptions of this period specify others in particular villages, according to the necessities of the village. Among them may be mentioned the *mason*,¹⁸⁷ the *architect*,¹⁸⁸ the *poison-doctor*, the *bamboo-worker* and the *sesamumgrinder*, *chaṇḍāla*¹⁸⁹ or the *vetṭiyān*. The *chaṇḍāla* or the *vetṭiyān* was employed in measuring all the heaps of grain and carrying letters and money. He also burned the dead and did odd jobs of various kinds.¹⁹⁰ The *agrahāra* villages had a different kind of officers. They were the expounders of grammar, *Mīmāṃsa*, *Vēdānta*, teachers of *Rg. Vēda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, the expounder of *Rūpāvatāra* and the reciter of *Purāṇas*.¹⁹¹ Apart from them, there were others connected with the duties in temples who are sometimes included in the list of the village servants. Under this category, come the dancing girl, the door-keeper, the dance master, the drummer, the singer, the conch-blower, the garland maker and the torch-bearer.¹⁹² As all of them were under the care and control of the temple authorities, they cannot be technically reckoned as the village servants.

There is not much information regarding the administration of justice except some stray references in the contemporary literature. Neither the records nor the literature mention the judges or their appointment or the judicial procedure at different levels. Hence, it is difficult to have any clear idea about the machinery of judicial administration during the period. But the literary references when studied in the light of *Smṛiti* literature give us an idea of some of the methods of the legal administration in vogue.

Vijñānēśvara, a profound student of *Pūrvamīmāṃsa* system wrote *Mitākshara* which was a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya smṛiti*. Throughout the work was discussed *pūrvamīmāṃsa nyāyas* (principles of Metaphysics) and their application to *Dharma śāstra*. His commentary was the law of a large part of India during his time. Here, it is necessary to make a reference to *Vijñānēśvariya* written by the Telugu poet Kētana. His work is based on *Mitākshara* written in eleventh century by Vijñānēśvara. His work is not a literal rendering of the original. But there are certain local deviations from the rules laid down in *Mitākshara* and Kētana says such deviations are not wrong as they conform to the local usage and custom.¹⁰⁸

A necessary aspect of the administration of justice relates to the punishments imposed on the offenders, especially in criminal cases. The nature and the severity of punishment differed not only with the gravity of the crime but also with the object with which it was committed.

The literary works of the period mention certain crimes and punishments. An interesting information is forthcoming from the famous Vīraśaivite work *Paṇḍitārādhya Charitra* written by Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha. According to this work, Rēmana and Dēvaya, the two Vīraśaiva merchants and the disciples of Mallikārjuna were in a great anger with the Buddhist teacher and wanted to take revenge against him who abused Mallikārjuna. Rēmana and Dēvaya followed the Buddhist teacher secretly to an island, where he daily used to visit for the purpose of offering worship at the temple of Buddha situated therein. When the Buddhist teacher entered the temple and prostrated himself before the image of Buddha, Rēmana and Dēvaya who having concealed themselves behind the deity fell upon him and cut him to several pieces and put a note on the body to intimate the people that the deed was done at the instance of Lord Mahesvara and departed from the place. After that, the disciples of the Buddhist teacher reported the whole matter to the king. Immediately, the king resolved to punish the offenders, however great they might be.

By the note placed by Rēmana and Dēvaya, the king suspected Mallikārjuna, the teacher of Viraśaivism. At the instance of the king, Mallikārjuna was summoned to the court of the king. When Mallikārjuna was charged with the act of instigating his followers to murder the Buddhist teacher, he admitted his guilt and declared that he was prepared to take any kind of punishment given by the king. In this context, Pālkuriki Sōmanātha incidentally mentions that the penalty for such types of crimes was death. In this regard it is of special interest to note that the *Dharma śāstras* have exempted the Brāhmaṇas from the capital punishment. Thereby, the king ordered to pluck the eyes of Mallikārjuna and the order of the king was promptly carried out by Mallikārjuna.¹⁹⁴ This account was in strict conformity with the statement in *Kumārasāmbhavam* of Nannechōḍa which mentions that the Brāhmaṇas should not be killed-- *Brāhmaṇō nahantavyah*.¹⁹⁵ Similar statement is made in Mallikārjuna's *Śiva tatvasāram*.¹⁹⁶

In *Vijñānēśwariyam*, it has been stated that it was not regarded as a crime, if the Brahmin takes for the use in the day light, a handful of firewood or hay or flowers for the worship of God from what belongs to others without their permission, because of the position occupied by the Brahmins in the society. Usually, such conduct comes under theft in the case of the members of the other castes.¹⁹⁷ According to Kētana's work, a person should be fined 100 *paṇas* who does not go to the rescue of a Brahmin when he is in a state of distress and cries for the help.¹⁹⁸ In this period it seems that trial by ordeal was enforced in case there is no satisfactory or convincing evidence regarding a loan taken by an individual. Physical torture was also practised for the trials by ordeal.¹⁹⁹ The punishments imposed on persons varied with the nature of the crimes and the social position of the people as well. If the person involved in the trial was a Brahmin, he should be weighed in balance with bricks. The next day, the balance should be worshipped and after that the Brahmin should be weighed in balance similarly. If the Brahmin was not guilty the pan with the bricks would go up, and if he was guilty it would come down. This was the procedure followed to the

Brahmins which was free of physical torture. Difficult and different processes were adopted for the persons belonging to other castes. In the case of a Kshatriya, an iron ball weighing 50 *paṇams* smooth and round should be held by pliers, which was red-hot and be placed on the palm of the accused with only six fine leaves laid on it. If the leaves on the palm were left unhurt, then he was said to be not guilty. For a Vaiśya, a still more difficult process was adopted. A man would be asked to shoot an arrow and to fetch the arrow back. Till then, the accused Vaiśya should be kept under water with no support except a stick on the surface of the water, the scalp should be visible. A still more difficult ordeal was imposed on the persons belonging to the Śūdra caste. Inside a new earthen-ware pot should be kept a poisonous snake and a lemon. The person was declared not guilty if he took out the lemon without being bitten by the snake. In the same manner, the fines levied in regard to the crimes varied according to their castes. If a Brahmin is found guilty, he had to pay a fine of 40 *panas*, a Vaiśya 60, a Kshatriya 80 and a Sudra 100 *panas*.

According to *Vijñānśwariyam* the king collects 100 *paṇams* as *nīti daṇḍuvu* (legal penalty) for the abuse of a teacher, mother and father without reason and 8000 *paṇams* for the abuse of king and God and 100 *paṇams* for the abuse of the Brahmins.²⁰⁰ Fines were levied for trade tricks, abusive speech, beating, selling of false diamonds, 1000 *paṇams* for prophesy of evil to the king and kingdom.²⁰¹

Kēṭana in his work, *Daśakumara Charitram* says that when merchants do a wrong they should compensate for it with their gold and precious stones and they will be treated separately from good people in the town. Further, it is mentioned that decapitation was the punishment for the murder of children. It contains a story of a woman who bore a child in secret and sent it to be left in the burning ghat through a nurse, who was caught, while returning by the watchmen. When the king came to know of these things, he immediately ordered her arrest and awarded capital punishment.²⁰²

At the lowest level the disputes were settled by the village councils and the elders of the village.²⁰³ Epigraphic evidence show that the Telikis had an assembly which acted as the chief custodian of the interests of its members. This assembly had its own jurisdiction to enquire into and settle questions of succession of property and pass rules and regulations regarding the conduct to be followed in marriage. A record from Nādeṇḍla refers to the effect that when the wife died, her *pāṭitoḍavu* i.e., the jewels probably presented to her by her parents at the time of their marriage, should go to the husband and that it was a sin for the relatives on her paternal side of the deceased woman to claim them.²⁰⁴

An inscription from Uyyakkonḍān-Tirumala which is dated in the 48th year of Kulōttunga I mentions in details the settlement of caste and the professions at the beginning of 12th Century A.D. by learned assemblies on the authority of the works of Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Kauṭilya and others²⁰⁵ By the decision of the learned Brahmins of *Rājāsraya chaturvēḍimangalam* the *anulōma* sect of *rathakāras* were entitled to *upanayana*, *ījya* (performing sacrifices), and *ādhana* (receiving sacred fire). Though this record belongs to Tamilnad, it shows how the serious questions of caste and professions were solved by the learned assemblies.

Not only the learned assemblies but also the assemblies conducted by the trade or merchant guilds solve the problems and managed their own affairs. They were mentioned in *Mitākshara* as *śrēṇis*²⁰⁶ The assemblies of such *śrēṇis* had the power of exercising civil and criminal authority within their particular jurisdiction. The word *samayakāryamu* mentioned in the epigraphs would be a rule, a regulation, or an agreement of the *śrēṇis* or guilds. According to *Mitākshara* the regulations of such bodies have to be respected, just as equal to king's laws, provided they do not come into conflict with the laws of the land.²⁰⁷ Vijñāneśvara had also referred to the punishments that will be imposed on the members of the bodies, when they disobey the rules and regulations.

Thus the study reveals that the Chālukya-Chōlas imbibed thoroughly the Chōla system in the aspects of nomenclature of the geographical divisions and in the judiciary. Even though, at the beginning of this period, it was intended by Kulōttunga I to strengthen the kingdom by giving authority to several feudal chiefs, at the end these political chieftains lessened the popularity and authority of the Chālukya-Chōla suzerains. Further, a basic continuity of administrative hierarchy and principles can be gleaned although there were changes in the nomenclature in the middle rung of hierarchy. The Chālukya-Chōlas also observed the basic principles of benevolent paternalism, involving catholicism and they also observed the principle of conceding autonomy to the personnel at the lower rungs. Besides this, with regard to military organisation and judicial system, the political tradition was maintained. The administrative system seemed to have functioned satisfactorily throughout the period, because of overall harmony, and fulfilled its primary task of facilitating economy as will be seen in the following chapter.

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17. *Kum. Sambh.* Canto X, Vs. 546-50.
18. *Key, Bahu. Ch.*, Canto IV, Vs. 203-07.
19. *Pal. Vir. Ch.*, p. 10 ff.
20. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 327 and 339.
21. *A.P.A.R.E.* Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
22. *Bharati*, 1947; November; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 737 and 1068.
23. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 107.
24. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* edited by Dr. Shamasastri.
25. A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 44.
26. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 39, p. 49; *Ep. R.*, 1888, July, Part II, Para 4; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 74.
27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 342 and 346.
28. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 124.
29. *Ibid.*, No. 651.
30. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 329.
31. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 192.
32. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 123; 67, 122, 134, 240 etc., *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1180, 1058, 1086, 1298, 1089; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 154, 676, 150.
33. *Key. Babu. Ch.*, Canto I, Vv, 5, 23, 24.
34. *A.R.E.*, 314 of 1932-33; Part II, para 13, p. 60.
35. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1102 and 1104.
36. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 643.
37. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1094, 1109, 1057, 1322; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 25; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 927.
38. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 620.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 648.
40. *Ibid.*, No. 616,
41. *Ibid.*, 643.
42. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 117.

43. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1105, 749, 1098, 1363; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 133 and 181.
44. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 74; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 39, p. 49; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 124 and 651.
45. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 39.
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1089; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 109.
47. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 87; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 63 and 116; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1322 and 1311.
48. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 329.
49. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, No. 32.
50. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 662 and 1153.
51. *Key. Bahu Ch.*, Canto I, v. 24.
52. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1217; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1322; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1359.
53. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1182, v. 17; *Ibid.*, No. 1141, v. 10.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Key. Bahu Ch.* Canto. Vv. 29 and 30.
56. *Ibid.*, v. 28.
57. *Kum. Sambh.*, Canto 11, Vv. 2-60.
58. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra under the Later Eastern Gangas and Sūryavaṃśi Gajapatis*, p. 275.
59. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, stanzas 58-59, p. 335.
60. *Ibid.*, Stanza 60.
61. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 117.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Key. Bahu Ch.* Canto 1, Vv. 29-30.
64. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 136.
65. *Ibid.*, No. 1173.
66. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 4; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 35; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 39; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 124 and 651.
67. *Key. Bahu Ch.*, Canto IV, v. 207.
68. *Ibid.*, Canto I, v. 72.
69. *Ibid.*, Vv. 73, and 76.
70. *Pal. Vir. Ch.*, p. 204.

71. Sewell, R., *Antiquities I*, Appendix A, p. 7.
72. T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
73. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, No. 23, *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1239.
74. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1023.
75. *Ibid.*, No. 1029.
76. *Ibid.*, No. 1039.
77. *Ibid.*, No. 1040.
78. *Ibid.*, No. 1053.
79. *Ibid.*, No. 1054.
80. *Ibid.*, No. 1074.
81. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1034, 1040, 1068, 1081; *A.R.E.*, 1935-36, Part II, para 16.
82. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 692.
83. *J.I.H.*, Vol. LII, pp. 63-105.
84. *Ibid.*
85. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 395-413.
86. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 43.
87. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 397.
88. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 64; also *A.R.E.*, 329 of 1932-33; *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 193.
89. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 38 ff; *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 8.
90. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 398; *A.R.E.*, 314, of 1932-33.
91. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 335.
92. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1243.
93. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 83 ff.
94. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1177.
95. *Ibid.*, No. 1021 (Roughly includes largest portions of present day—
Peddapur and Pithapur taluks of East Godavari District).
96. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.
97. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1290, 1334, 1306; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1173.
98. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1385, 1020, 1322.
99. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1306.
100. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 20.
101. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1187.

102. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 200 and 135.
103. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1101.
104. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 200, 139 and 143.
105. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 90; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 32.
106. *Kum. Sambh.*, Canto, I, v. 59.
107. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, Nos. 1141 and 1224.
108. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 20, p. 219.
109. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 32.
110. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 20.
111. *A.R.E.*, 329 of 1932-33, Part II, para 14, pp. 60-61.
112. *Ibid.*, 314 of 1932-33.
113. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 49; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 64; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 40.
114. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 603.
115. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 410.
116. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 32.
117. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 410; *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 193.
118. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 193.
119. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 638.
120. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 286.
121. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 411.
122. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 112.
123. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 236.
124. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 411.
125. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 722; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 96, 109.
126. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 259.
127. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 413.
128. For Example, Rājarāja *valanāḍu*, Kulōttunga Chōla *valanāḍu*, and Rājādhirāja *valanāḍu*.
129. To cite few examples, Birudarājadhayamkara *valanāḍu* and Gangaikonḍachōla *maṇḍalam*.
130. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 413.
131. This system has its basis in the smritis and works on polity, *Manusmṛiti*, *S.B.E.*, XXV; VII, verse 115, p. 234, *Mānasōllāsa* II, verse 159,

132. V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Guntur, No. 89.
133. *A.R.E.*, 140 of 1897.
134. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 412.
135. *A.R.E.*, 287 of 1932-33.
136. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 135.
137. *A.R.E.*, 1932-33; Part II, para 14, pp. 60-61.
138. To cite few examples—*Virchōḍa Chaturvēdi mangalam* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 10); *Chuttamalli Chaturvēdi mangalam*, (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 18 and 12).
139. This led a scholar even to go far as to claim that the language and script of the Gangas was Tamil (B.C. Majumdar, *Orissa in the Making*).
140. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1089.
141. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 4; Gonka II—*Vṅgī Vishaya sōḍaśashaṭsa-haśrāvanī Vallabha*, in Saka 1054; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 974.
142. *A.R.E.*, 314 of 1932-33.
143. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 124.
144. R.C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 133-34.
145. A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff.
146. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
147. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 238.
148. A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 225 ff.
149. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 79, 119, 162, 261; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 918; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 119, 120, 205; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 100.
150. *Ibid.*
151. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 119.
152. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, No. 1281.
153. *Ibid.*, No. 667; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 622; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 279.
154. R. Narasimha Rao, *Corporate Life in Medieval Andhradeśa* pp. 11-33.
155. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1281.
156. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 599.
157. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Chapter—II.
158. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 98.

159. *Ibid.*, No. 72.
160. *J.A.H. & C.*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 71.
161. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1343, 70.
162. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1186, 1187.
163. *ī dharmuvu Śrīvaiṣṇava rakṣa*.
164. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 955, 1313, 938, 1001.
165. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-257.
166. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
167. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 135.
168. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 112, 132; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1083, 72; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 168, 250; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1361, 681, 1288, 1029, 1248, 1250, 1291, 1145, 1139.
169. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 173.
170. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 112.
171. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 250.
172. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1174.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *J.A.H. & C.*, Vol. I, No. 2, Second side of the pillar.
175. *A.R.E.*, 1921-22, Part II, para 6, p. 97.
176. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1015.
177. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1101, 1288; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1056, 1100, 1136, 1342; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1177.
178. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1145, 1139.
179. *Ibid.*, No. 1100.
180. *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
181. *S.I.E.*, Vol. IV, No. 633, *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 122.
182. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1015, 1288.
183. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1288, *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 66; *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
184. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1384.
185. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1384; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1009; *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
186. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1100.
187. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 663; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 61.
188. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 72, 104, 61,

189. *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
190. A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in South India*, p. 269.
191. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 10; *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
192. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 80, 88, 61.
193. Ketana *Vijñānēśwarīyam*, v. 54.
194. *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitramu*, Part I, pp. 585 ff; Part II, pp. 3 ff.
195. *Kum. Sambh.* Canto I, v. 92.
196. *Śivatatvasāram*, v. 213.
197. *Vijñānēśwarīyam*—*Prāyaścittakāṇḍa*, v. 58.
198. *Ibid.*
199. *Kum. Sambh.*, Canto II, 84, IV, 16.
200. Vijñānēśwara, *Mitākshara*, Vv. 33, 43, 49, 54
201. *Ibid.*, Vv. 65, 80, 137.
202. *Das. Kum. Cha.* Canto VIII, pp. 20-24.
203. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 119.
204. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 218; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 221; Also see K. Sundaram, *Social and Economic Conditions*, p. 45.
205. *A.R.E.*, 478 of 1908-1909, Part II, para 45.
206. *Mitākshara*, pp. 142 and 253.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

The Economic Conditions

To improve the economic position and to contribute to the wealth and the economic stability of the country, the people of the period found a great number of facilities as well as opportunities. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people and great importance was attached to the ownership of land and almost all the people of the country aimed at having a small plot of land. Importance of private property was greatly realised and the state did respect the existence of private property in land.

The agricultural practice followed by the people can be determined to an extent by the study of the crops grown in the lands. Hence it is necessary to have an understanding of the principal crops grown in Āndhradeśa, their local distribution and the comparative value of the crops. It appears from the inscriptions that in Āndhradeśa then grew, most of the crops, now grown and the land was broadly divided on the basis of its fertility and the crops grown. Thus, the land was

distinguished as wet, dry, garden and waste land. On the basis of its cultivable produce it is divided into *varinēla*¹ or *pantanēla*, *jonnanēla*² and *nuvvunēla*.³ The garden land is referred to as *pōmka thōṭa*,⁴ *thengu thōṭa*,⁵ *pangu thōṭa*,⁶ *pushpavanamu* or flower garden,⁷ *davanavanamu*,⁸ and fruit land.⁹

In regard to the ownership of land there is a sharp division of opinion among scholars.¹⁰ Theories have been advanced both for and against the state ownership of land, and on this particular point there is hardly any unanimity among the scholars.¹¹ The king as the sovereign of the state had some claim over the land and received from peasants a revenue as the wage for protecting the people, but, all this did not amount to a proprietary right over the land.¹² The land was purchased and sold for various purposes by the kings and the people alike. Land has been gifted to the religious institutions such as temples and *maṭhas* and to the learned brahmins as well as to several village servants and to the people by the kings and the feudatory chieftains as well as by the rich people.¹³

A large number of inscriptions attest to the practice of assigning villages to brahmins by the king. The Pithapuram plates of Vīra Chōḍa records¹⁴ the grant of village to 536 Brahmins belonging to 27 *gōtras*. The Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka Chōla records the gift of the village Ālavēlinilaya to a number of brahmins.¹⁵ The Chelluru grant of Kulōttunga II records the grant of the village Maṇḍadoṟṟu along with Pāṇḍuva *grāma* in Attili to a number of brahmins.¹⁶ The Nanduru plates of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa records the grant of the village of Inunṅaṟṟu as an *agrahāra* to learned brahmin at the time of Rājarāja II.¹⁷ Superficially, it appears that such grants provide the proprietary right of individual cultivators. But a careful perusal warrants this view. In such cases, what was actually assigned was the revenue, which the state received from the village and often certain other rights, but not the agricultural land in the village. It is clear from the Pithapuram plates and Mallavaram plates that the

agrahāra grant did not confirm the title to the ownership of land but gave merely the title to the income and produce of the land that it was always open to the king who was the owner of the land to resume it and re-grant it or divide it into any other parts to suit the convenience of the times.¹⁸

It is further evident from the inscriptions that the grant of a village did not amount to an assignment of the ownership rights over arable land in the village, which mention the grant of a village together with some particular tract in that very village or elsewhere. The Pithāpuram and Mallavaram grants mention the number of brahmins as well as the number of tracts of lands assigned to them. By a close examination of the above two grants it is clear that the king was the owner of the land, as the same village Ālavēlinilaya, which has been once granted by Vīra Chōḍa to a number of brahmins had been re-granted by Parāntaka¹⁹ Chōḷa in the later times.

Reference has been made to the lands owned by private individuals and to those gifted to the religious institutions in the epigraphs.¹⁹ From this it can be assumed that pieces of land were owned and cultivated by private individuals and the state did not own all the arable land in a village. It is also apparent from the records that the king had many claims over the village lands and he transferred these to the donees. It is mentioned in the records that the lands or villages are granted along with *bhōgas*, which were called a *aṣṭabhōgasvāmyam*²⁰ (system of 8 benefactions). These *aṣṭabhōgasalvisāmpadalu* mentioned in the records are enumerated as *nidhi* (treasure trove), *nikshēpamu* (property deposited in land), *jalamu* (water source), *pāṣānamu* (minerals), *akṣiṇi* (actual privileges), *agami* (prospective rights), *siddhamu* (the land cultivated) and *sādhyamu* (the produce of such land). The gifting of villages along with all their assets and liabilities to the religious institutions would indicate that the king claimed a theoretical ownership to the soil.

In this period, there was the emergence of the feudal chief as the third element to the ownership of land besides the king

and the peasant-proprietors. The feudatories and feudal chiefs had a restricted title. The *Mitākshara* observes that the privilege of making a gift of land belonged only to the king and not to the fief-holder. Yet there are certain references to indicate that the suzerain had the right to grant land which was directly held by his vassals.²¹

Though theoretically the feudatory rulers were not entitled to make land grants, in reality they donated the lands. The Nanḍūru copper plate grant of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa records the gift of Inungurru *agrahāra* to a learned Brahmin.²² *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gonka offered the grant of the entire village of Bēṭalapāḍu with the boundaries marked, for worship and decoration of the God Tripurāntakesvaradeva, in Tripurantakam in (Śaka 1028) 1106 A.D.²³ Velanāṭi Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa II gifted the field of *pentapolam* in the Appikatla *grāma* of the Kammanāṭi *vishaya* to one Viśvēśvara Mahādeva.²⁴ An inscription dated in 1148 A.D. mentions the grant of land to the extent of 10 *khaṇḍikas* (unit of land-measure) in the village of Sudānipāḍu, to a merchant of Penugoṇḍa by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nanne Chōḍa of Kammanāḍu.²⁵ The Pithapuram pillar inscription of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara records the gift of the village of Navakhaṇḍavāda in Prolunadu *vishaya* to the temple of Kuntimādhava.²⁶ The Haihaya chief Bhīma Rāju, son of Satya Rāju, offered a grant of 30 *khaṇḍikas* of land in the Krunduṭi *grāma* in 1153 A.D.²⁷ A record at Bhimavaramu dated in 1177 A.D. registers the gift of land free of all taxes to lord Śrī Rājanārāyaṇadeva.²⁸ An inscription dated in 1198 A.D. records the gift of 2 *puttis* of land by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mangirāja to the God Narasimhadeva of Simhāchalam.²⁹

The feudatory ruler or the head of the territorial division had to take the formal consent of his assembly in dealing with matters pertaining to the lands of the state while gifting. It was the common practice of the time to make the gift in the presence of the assembly of the chief officers of *vishaya* such as the minister, the priest and the commander, the prince and the gate-keeper.³⁰ In some instances, a new procedure was

followed in gifting away the lands and villages. It was to summon a large number of witnesses, while gifting the lands.³¹ In certain cases gifts were offered by the chiefs who happened to be on a visit to a particular shrine. And these were attested by the signatures of the ministers who accompanied the chieftains. A record at Drākṣārāma dated in the year 1119 A.D. registers the gift of land by Parāntaka Chōla to the lord free of all taxes.³² At the end of the record is the signature of a *sandhi-vigrahi* (Brahmamārāya) Rājamanōhara Brahmamārāya who accompanied Parāntakadeva. In another record of the same place are signatures of Kēsana Preḡgaḍa and *Daṇḍanāyaka* Maṇḍa in registering the gift of land by the Haihaya chief, Bhīma Rāju.³³

Care was taken to define the boundaries of the individual fields, probably to prevent each individual from the encroachment upon other's land. There is not much information from the records regarding the punishments imposed in the cases of confiscation or encroachment of other's lands. From the imprecatory passages at the end of the inscriptions it is held that in the cases of violation of the terms of land grant the donor was considered as having killed thousands and thousands of cows at the sacred Ganges and also as having killed innumerable numbers of brahmins.³⁴

The wet land mentioned in the records was supposed to be the most fertile land and had either natural or artificial supply of water. The crops usually grown in such type of land were paddy and others. The different types of wet lands mentioned in the records are *Velipolamu*,³⁵ *chavukubhoomi*,³⁶ *gaddunēla* or *gaḍḍu maḍi*,³⁷ *nirupolamu* or *nīrunēla*,³⁸ *uḍupu bhoomi* or *udubu bhoomi*,³⁹ *vari bhoomi* or *vari nēla*,⁴⁰ *maḍipolamu*,⁴¹ *pannasa kshetramu*,⁴² *pāṭi kshetramu*,⁴³ *tuṇinēla*,⁴⁴ *ūrupunēla*,⁴⁵ and *ulvari*.⁴⁶ The dry land was maintained mainly on rain water and was useful for growing grams, pulses, millets, maize and dhaniyalu. In the inscriptions these are mentioned as *cheluka bhoomi*,⁴⁷ *garuvu bhoomi*,⁴⁸ *kriṣṇarēvaḍu bhoomi*,⁴⁹ *jonna bhoomi* and *jonna nēla*.⁵⁰

The garden lands referred to in the records are *thōnta bhoomi*,⁵¹ *nandanavanamu*,⁵² *pushpavanamu*,⁵³ *upavanamu*,⁵⁴ *davanavanamu*,⁵⁵ *thengu thōṭa*,⁵⁶ and *pōṁka thōṭa*.⁵⁷ These references show that several nuts and fruits⁵⁸ such as arecanut, coconut and mangoes were grown in plenty. Several flower gardens were also referred to in the records. Besides these, the people were much interested in growing vegetable gardens which can be inferred only from the temple offerings. Usually the vegetables grown in the fields were *vaṁkāyalu*, *kākarkāyalu*, *gummaḍikāyalu*⁵⁹ and *araṭikāyalu*.

Another type of land mentioned in the records is the waste land (*alamu*)⁶⁰ or the land left for grazing the cattle (*pentapolamu*)⁶¹ and in addition to this there are a few references to the salt lands as *uppunēla upuvarinēla* and *uparipolamu*.⁶² By this it is evident that certain land was set apart for manufacturing the salt. Probably, sugar-cane was also grown in this period as the records mention sugar as an offering to the temple.⁶³ An inscription dated 1147 A.D. refers to jaggery as an article in the fair.⁶⁴ According to *Kēyūrabāhucharitram* the town Dhandapura was enriched with several *upavanas*, *sarasalu* and *cheruku thōṭalu*.⁶⁵

Agriculture prospers only when the land is fertile and is furnished with sufficient water supply. Much care was taken by the kings during this period in providing sufficient water to the cultivable lands. Not only the rulers of the time but also the people took proper care to provide water supply to their fields which was an indispensable requirement for the successful cultivation. The epigraphs as well as the literary works during this period throw much light on the tank-building activity in Andhradesa.⁶⁶ Contemporary writings consider it as an act of merit for the private individual to construct and maintain works of irrigation and also as a part of the duty of the state to undertake such works. Tank-building was included in the seven meritorious acts or *sapta-saṁtānams* which a man ought to perform during his life time.

Watering the small fields by well-water was the earliest and simplest process followed by the people in the early

medieval period. In course of time, this was slightly improved and the practice of digging small ditches and pools came into vogue. These were usually known as *kunṭas*. A record from Nādeṇḍla of *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara* Chōḍerāju refers to the gift of *gāpanakunṭa* and *mūsiyāna cheruvu* and *bhaṭṭa dāsekunṭa* to Mūlasthānamahādēva.⁶⁷ The water from these pools was supplied to the agricultural fields through the water lifts. These were usually referred to as *ēṭams* in the records. An inscription from Drākṣārāma dated in the 47th year of Kulōttunga I refers to the land cultivated by the help of *viḍinīru* which refers to the free flow of water from the irrigation channels and *ēṭam nīru*.⁶⁸ The records of the period mention the usage of the waters from the natural streams such as *kālvās* and *vāgus*.

Generally the works of irrigation were divided into tank, canal and well irrigation and incidental works like construction of embankments etc. Of these, tank irrigation occupies the bulk of the irrigation system as observed from the inscriptions. Several references to the tanks in the epigraphs recording the land and village grants reveals that the tanks were facilitating the irrigational needs of the farmers. Though the tanks were dug generally in the areas of soft clay soil, they were as a rule constructed in the catchment areas in the upland regions of hard soil, and the land below such soil was utilised for growing crops. These tanks were usually the reservoirs in which rain water was caught and stored for utilisation in the cultivation of the soil. Every village in the kingdom had one or more tanks according to the extent of arable land. The village tank was usually termed as *cheruvu* in the records. There are several instances in the records that the cultivable lands were found by the side of *cheruvu* or tank. An inscription from Kaza in Guntur district dated in 1164 A.D. records the gift of *nīrunēla* by the side of *erra cheruvu* to the worship of lord Kalyāṇa Kēsavadēva.⁷⁰ Agricultural lands by the side of *cheruvus* were gifted as *phalabhōga* to the lord of Sīmhachalam.⁷¹

There are many references to the donations of *cheruvus*

or tanks by the private philanthropists of various castes. A record dated in 1132 A.D.⁷² refers to the construction of tanks by Nārāya Paṇḍa. Another record from Koṇidena in Narasaraopet taluk dated in 1151 A.D. records the gift of tank constructed by one Sāla Kētaya in the outskirts of the village to lord Bhīmēśvaradēva.⁷³ An inscription from Drākṣārama informs of the construction of a tank by Sōma, the lord of Ōrigāṇḍi.⁷⁴ An inscription dated in 1153 A.D. states that a certain Buddana made a gift of the tank he had constructed at Petluru to the temple of Trikōṭṭisvara at Kāvūru.⁷⁵ The *seṭṭi* of Nanne Chōḍa built a tank to the south-east of Koṇidena.⁷⁶

The epigraphs provide much information in regard to the construction of irrigation works by the local chieftains. During the reign of Velanāṭi Chōḍa II were constructed *daṇḍagaṭṭu cheruvu*,⁷⁷ *chimṭala cheruvu*,⁷⁸ *nēraḍla cheruvu*.⁷⁹ Likewise, there are several references in the records of the Telugu Chōḍas of Koṇidena to the construction of *pulicheruvu*,⁸⁰ *yākarāju cheruvu*,⁸¹ *vēlāni cheruvu*,⁸² *chintala cheruvu*⁸³ and *ammala pūṇḍi cheruvu*.⁸⁴

Sometimes the irrigation tanks were known as *taṭākas* or *samudrams*. The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief Maṇḍa built *malla samudram* tank after the name of his father Malla on the north-east of Nādeṇḍla.⁸⁵ The queen of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, Buddharāja, Guṇḍamadēvī constructed a tank on the south-east of Nādeṇḍla and named after her own name as *Guṇḍa samudramu*.⁸⁶

Reference has been made to the construction of irrigation works in the epigraphs as a communal enterprise undertaken by the village community. The Nudurupāḍu pillar inscription dated in 1162 A.D., registers the gifts made by the *nāyakas* of Rāmki, who were the dependents of the rulers of the *giripaśchima* country for the merit of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa.⁸⁷ It mentions that the entire assembly of Rāmki chiefs (*Rāmki samasta nāyaka samūhambu*), and the entire people of (*Rāmki samasta*

prajayunu) caused the construction of a number of tanks. They were *ammināyaku cheruvu*, *nāyaku*, *kammalavāri kotta cheruvu*, *bādireḍḍivāri potta*, *cheruvu vennaparaḍḍi cheruvu*, *prolinayaku cheruvu*, *prōli raḍḍi cheruvu*, *nalla boḍi raḍḍimuddi raḍḍi vāri potta cheruvu* and *bammi raḍḍi cheruvu*.⁸⁸ The names of the tanks mentioned in the above record indicate the fact that these were built by the village community and named after the more prominent figures among them.

In the areas where there were no natural streams, large tanks were made to serve the areas. For the proper maintenance of these tanks regular endowments were made. It is common in this period to deposit a certain amount of money with the temple treasury, for the purpose of digging a new tank or for widening the channels of an already existing tank. An inscription from *Siṁhāchalam* dated in 1203 A.D. states that *Rēkama Nāyaka* made a gift of land for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp and he deposited a sum of 7 *surabhigadyas* with the temple treasury, so that the money might be utilised for the digging of a tank—*gajamali cheruvu* to water the land endowed by the donor to the temple and in return the persons who cultivate the land had to supply daily one *narasiṁha mānika* of ghee to the deity.⁸⁹ Such type of instances can be gathered from the records.⁹⁰

The important source of income to the state was from the taxation. The records generally refer to a large number of taxes. The taxes were levied on agricultural lands on various industries, on several goods and commodities, cattle, on houses, on marriages and on various professions. Of all these, the taxes levied on agricultural land seems to be the chief source of income to the state. But it is not clear as regards to the exact proportion of the land produce, which the state claimed for its share. On the basis of the fertility of the land it has been divided as wet, dry and fallow land and care was taken to define the boundaries of the individual fields and for the proper assessment of land tax.

The taxes levied on land were mentioned in the inscrip-

tions as *ari*, *appanamu*, *sunkamu*, *pullari*, *pannu*, *karamu* and *kappamu*.⁹¹ In some records it is referred to as *ardhāya*, *antarāya*, *siddhāya*, *veṇḍāya*, *samastāya* and *ayamu*.⁹² The lands donated to the temples and the brahmins were made as *sarvakariparihāra*, i.e., free of all taxes.⁹³ While making the land gifts free of all taxes reference has been made to the taxes like *ardhāya*, *antarāya*, *veṇḍāya*, *karāya* and *samastāya*.⁹⁴ A record dated in 1147 A.D. at Peddakoḍamaguṇḍla in Palnad taluk of Guntur district, state that the village of Kodamaguda which was granted as an *agrahāra* was rendered free of the taxes like *pērusumka*, *vaḍḍarāvalu*, *bīraṇālu*, *kolchivīsamulu*, and other *sumka*.⁹⁵ Another record at Bhimavaram,⁹⁶ registers the gift of 20 *māḍas* collected from the wet lands as *antarāya*, *veṇḍāya* and *samastāya* taxes. An inscription of Kulōttunga Chōḍa at Drākṣārāma refers to the taxes on the land gifted to lord Bhīmesvara as *antarāya* and *veṇḍāya*.⁹⁷ Information is coming from the records in regard to the collection of other taxes apart from the agricultural and pastoral lands. They were the taxes on lands growing gardens, mangoes, betelnut and sugar-cane. Presumably, owing to the perishable nature of the cultivable produce grown, taxes on gardens were paid in cash and not in kind. Collection of taxes on garden lands is evident from the fact that the Haihaya chief Kōna Satyarāju's son Bhīmarāju gifted away a garden land in Krundūru, free of land taxes such as *antarāyamu* and *samastāyamu* to the ascetics of the *tiruvīdhimaṭha*.⁹⁸ Probably, in this period the revenue from pasture-lands must have been very high, for almost every record of this period refers to the gift of cattle.⁹⁹ The land taxes like *kīḍera*, *irayili*, *terayili* and *krīḍāramu* mentioned in the records clearly show the influence of the south on the system of taxation in Andhradeśa.¹⁰⁰

Some of the taxes collected on several goods exported and imported from one place to another and the taxes at the time of the sale or purchase as an excise duty are mentioned in the inscriptions as *sumkams*,¹⁰¹ *ammubaḍi sumkamu*,¹⁰² *āyamu*,¹⁰³ *pēṇṭa sumkamu*,¹⁰⁴ *aḍḍavaṭṭa sumkamu*,¹⁰⁵ *komara vīsamu*, *bīraṇamu* and *sādamu* and *kōṭivīsamu*.¹⁰⁶ The inscriptions of Kammanāḍu offer important information about the

taxes on the produce grown on land. An inscription dated 1147 A.D. in the reign of Tribhuvana Malladēva Chōḍa Mahārāja records the grant of the *mahājanas* and several merchants of Bhōjanamu.¹⁰⁷ The inscription records the details of certain transactions, including textiles and provisions of daily use and the taxes imposed on them. Another record from Koṇidena dated in the 15th regnal year of Kulōttunga refers to *sum̐kas* collected on the several commodities.¹⁰⁸ For performing the *Pūjāpunaskāras* (worship and services) to Nilakanṭheśvaradēva of Koṇidena, the tax collectors *sum̐karis* Kāmana, Rēkana, Bollana, and Vāsana, presented the *pēm̐ta sum̐ka*.

By the two records mentioned above, it is clear that the state derived a large amount of revenue from the articles grown on land such as turmeric, onion, and jaggery noted above. *Pēm̐ta sum̐ka* or *pēṭa sum̐ka* mentioned in the record,¹⁰⁹ was the duty levied on various articles of merchandise sold in shops pertaining to *pēṭa* (ward).¹¹⁰

Apart from these taxes collected on various goods of merchandise, taxes were also imposed on the communal assemblies. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva Pottapichōḍa Mahārāja, the princes (*rācha koḍkulu*), *mandadlu*, *nūkanāyakulu*, *rāchakoḍkus* of Moṭṭavāda, *dēsaṭlu* and *nūkanāyakulu* assembled together and presented to lord Kēśavadēva of Kōtyadona one *rūka* on each village (*ūrārūka*) and one *pādika* or paddy (*ulvari pādika*).¹¹¹

An inscription at Koṇidena mentions the tax levied on salt.¹¹² The rate of the tax mentioned in the record is 2 *vīsa* per *māda* on the total income derived from the sale of salt (*uppu ammina pakim̐ḍi valana*). Another record dated in 1137 A.D. mentions the *sum̐ka* on salt.¹¹³ It states that Mahāmaṇḍa-lēśvara Kāma Chōḍa Mahārāja of Kammanāḍu, granted the *sum̐ka* at the rate of one *perūka* per *gadyāna* of salt in the fields of Pedda Ganjamu, Kaḍakuduru, Kūravāda and Pinna Ganjamu to Lord Kēśavadēva.

A record from Nadendla mentions *pērusuṁka* and *goḍlu vīsamu*,¹¹⁴ *pēru* seems to be an alternative form of *peruka* which means a load carried on bullocks. Hence, *pērusuṁka* was probably a tax levied on such loads. Likewise, *goḍlu vīsālu* is a tax on the sale and purchase of cattle. *Ammubaḍi suṁkamu* mentioned in a record dated in 1080 A.D. is a tax on the sale and purchase of horses and other animals.¹¹⁵

Apart from the above mentioned taxes, there are certain taxes levied on various professions followed by the people during this period. In this regard much information is forthcoming from a record at Drākṣārāma¹¹⁶ which states that Parāntaka Chōla had taken a decision on the rate of taxes to be collected from several village servants. Another record refers to the tax levied on the artisans as *bōgarapannu*.¹¹⁷ It is apparent from the records that taxes were imposed on marriages. An inscription dated 1155 A.D. at Pahimḍipāḍu in Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district records the gift of land by Gaṇḍiraju, an astrologer to the temple of Chennakēśava and states that the *suṁka* and the marriage tax (*penḍli tera*) in Pahimḍipāḍu were assigned to the temple for the merit of the Velanāṭi chief, Rājendra Chōḍa.¹¹⁸ In an inscription from Nādenḍla dated in the year 1139 A.D. reference has been made to the gift of marriage tax as *ayirāni rūka* to the students and to the priest of the temple.¹¹⁹ The taxes referred in the records are as follows : *ammubaḍisuṁkamu*,¹²⁰ *ayirāni rūka*,¹²¹ *aruvaṇamu*,¹²² *arddāyamu*,¹²³ *āyamu*,¹²⁴ *siddhāyamu*,¹²⁵ *suṁkamu*,¹²⁶ *samastāyamu*,¹²⁷ *veṇḍāyamu*,¹²⁸ *vaḍḍarāvalamu*,¹²⁹ *krīḍāramu*,¹³⁰ *irayili*,¹³¹ *terayili*,¹³² *kōṭivīsālu*,¹³³ *pērusuṁkamu*,¹³⁴ *penḍli tera*,¹³⁵ *tere*,¹³⁶ *bīraṇālu*,¹³⁷ *goḍlu vīsālu*,¹³⁸ *pahinḍi suṁkamu*,¹³⁹ *antarāyamu*,¹⁴⁰ *pēṇṭasuṁkamu*,¹⁴¹ and *kolchu vīsālu*.¹⁴²

All the taxes discussed above were those levied inside the country. Because of the paucity of the material, we practically know nothing about the taxes collected on the goods imported and exported. The kings appointed officers to collect the taxes and were referred to as the *suṁkarulu*.¹⁴⁵ In a record from Peddakodamagaṇḍla, the officials Prōlamaraju, Erayama

Preggaḍa, Bayana Preggaḍa and Bētanamu Bollana appear to have collected the taxes—*pērusuṁka*, *vaḍḍarāvala*, *bīraṇa* and *kollivīsa*.¹⁴⁴ An inscription from Konidena refers to the gift of *pēṁta suṁka* to Lord Nīlakanṭheśvara by the *suṁkaris*—Kāmana, Rēkana, Bollana and Vāsava.¹⁴⁵ In addition to this, information is forthcoming about the collection of taxes by the trade guilds.¹⁴⁶

Epigraphic references show that the economy of the period had witnessed a great development in the industrial arts. Among them, the art of metallurgy occupies the first place. The working of the artisans on metals like gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, zinc and tin have produced different types of articles, as ornaments and decorations for various deities, weapons for the war, instruments for several games and utilitarian quality in the ordinary daily life. Thus the development of the industrial arts catered to all the needs of the people of the day. The availability of various metals in Āndhradeśa seemed to have instigated the artisans to specialise in various industrial arts and crafts. In the mines of Palnāḍ, various metals are available in abundance. Copper is found both in Palnad and Vinukonda taluks of Guntur district¹⁴⁷ and iron in Sattenapalle taluk of Guntur district.¹⁴⁸ In some villages of Palnad big furnaces used for melting iron are seen. The village Guttikonda is known as Kolumulapalem where furnaces were kept¹⁴⁹ and the name of the hill Inupakoṇḍa indicates that it is the iron hill. Palnad was also famous for its diamond mines.¹⁵⁰ Probably, some of the metals not available within the country were imported from other regions through the merchants.¹⁵¹

Of the different metal industries, the art of making the ornaments and jewellery was the most important. In this period there was a great demand for the preparation of various types of ornaments, as revealed by the descriptions to the decorations made to the main deities of the temples in Āndhradeśa.

Reference has been made to different types of jewellery such as bracelets, golden chains, anklets, bead chains, waist

belts, necklaces, nose rings and armlets in *Palnāṭivira Charitra*.¹⁵² In the same work is given the description of the preparation of golden tops (*bongarālu*).¹⁵³ It is evident from epigraphs of the period that the temples maintained permanently various craftsmen such as the goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths and carpenters.¹⁵⁴ In the records are mentioned different types of ornaments such as silver lampsteads,¹⁵⁵ silver flowers,¹⁵⁶ golden bells¹⁵⁷ and golden bracelets.¹⁵⁸ An inscription dated in 1142 A.D. refers to the gift of a gold bracelet, a gold mirror, a gold plate, and a golden measure required for measuring of large quantities of the *gadyas* to the temple.¹⁵⁹ In another record is mentioned the gift of silver lampstead¹⁶⁰ (*Veṇḍi gaṭṭina lōhadiviya*). Of particular interest is an epigraph from Drākṣārāma which records the gift of gold bracelets set with two diamonds, two gold cups embeded with nine gems, two fly-whisks (*Viñjāmaras*) with gold-gilted handles and one silver plate.¹⁶¹ Likewise, there is information from the literature of this period about the embedding of gems in the bracelets and in the gold chains.¹⁶² By all these above references, it is evident that the preparation of jewellery and several ornaments was in a flourishing condition and the craftsmanship of goldsmith with silversmith was of a very high order. Further, it shows the need and demand by the people of the society for the preparation of several ornaments, which provides ample work for various craftsmen.

The working on iron, copper and bronze and other metals can be attested by the epigraphic and literary sources. These metals were used either separately or as a combination to yield different alloys. In *Palnāṭivira Charitra* reference has been made to the steel pillars (*ukkukambamulu*).¹⁶³ Most of the records at Drākṣārāma and other places refer to a lamp stand made of metal (*lōhadivi*)¹⁶⁴ and a metallised plate or stand to provide incense to the deity¹⁶⁵ (*lōhadhūpāradiviya*) and bracelets made of metal (*lōhavaradaṇḍamulu*).¹⁶⁶ All these references show the flourishing state of metallurgy in the period.

The working on wood in this period had greatly served the needs of the people of different classes. Lands were also

gifted to the services rendered by the carpenters. In the Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka-Chōla two carpenters by name Rapa and Narayana had been granted some parts of land in the *Agrahāra* village.¹⁶⁷ In another record at Drākṣārāma the carpenter has been referred to as *vaddavi*.¹⁶⁸ Another record from the same place refers to a carpenter as one of the temple servants.¹⁶⁹ It seems that the furniture used by the people in this period is mainly done on wood. There are references to wooden cots,¹⁷⁰ and various types of wooden boxes¹⁷¹ in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*.

Construction of temples at various places in Āndhradēśa can be attested by several epigraphic references. It is evident from them that some temples permanently maintained the artisans.¹⁷² The inscriptions refer to the erection of *nāga sthambhas* and the installation of the main deities and the construction of temples.¹⁷³ A record from Nadendla,¹⁷⁴ dated in 1139 A.D. refers to the grant of land to the artisans.

In addition to these, there were industries such as textiles, pot-making, oil pressing, salt manufacturing etc. in this period. The prevalence of the textile industry can be attested by their sale in the weekly fairs.¹⁷⁵ There are references to the potter as *kammari* or *kumbhakāra* in the records of this period.¹⁷⁶ Probably, these potters might have served the needs of the people with their services. Oil which was usually obtained from the seeds of gingelly, castor and linseed had varied purposes and the records point to the flourishing state of the oilmonger community or *Telikivēvuru* community.¹⁷⁷ From the epigraphic evidence it is clear that the places like Uppugondūru, Pedda Ganjam, Chinna Ganjam, Kaḍakuduru, Vāyūmdorru, Tripurāntakam etc. were the important salt manufacturing centres in this period.¹⁷⁸

The fact that the merchant community prospered during this period is evident from the inscriptions on their charities and from the literature of the time. Majority of the people that joined in the trade guilds were artisans and traders as it was difficult for them to compete as individuals against the

guilds, which provides a social status and a degree of general security. These guilds were usually organised on territorial and functional basis. They provided protection for the life and property of its members and assured the privileges that were conferred on the guild by the state equally. With the increase in demand for particular commodities and the consequent necessity to raise their output, some guilds began to employ hired labour. As the guilds offered great advantages, artisans of different crafts and merchants of various goods formed into guilds, which were generally known as the craft guilds and trade guilds. The leading craft guilds of this period were those of the potters, metal workers and carpenters. Generally, all these guilds derived their finances from a variety of sources like the contributions from the members of the guild, profits from the banking operations and participation in the tax forming system and income from corporate property.¹⁷⁹

Regarding the functions of the guild, much material is offered in the epigraphs of the period. It seems that these guilds fixed rules of work and the quality of the finished product and its price to safeguard both the artisan and the customer. Apart from this, the guilds also controlled the prices of the goods that were manufactured depending on the quality of the work. The conduct and behaviour of the members of the guild was controlled by the formulation of a common code of professional conduct and its rigorous enforcement. Apart from the regulation of the professional life of the members of the guild, it also intervened in the private lives of its members. During the period under survey, there were trade guilds such as *Teliki* 1000 or *Telikivēvuru*,¹⁸⁰ the Nakaram of Penugonḍa and the Vaisya 102 community.¹⁸¹

These guilds sought to maintain their distinctiveness and individuality through a *praśasti* which was an eulogy obviously couched in hyperbolic terms of the innumerable virtues of its members, through banners bearing the emblems and implements characteristic of the profession of its members and through the institution of deities named after the guilds or

some implements used extensively by its members.¹⁸² The members of the guilds, who were generally from the industrial and mercantile classes, adopted several social honours and held superior claims equal to the privileged classes by inventing a mythical origin from the celestial beings.

During the period under survey, the *Telikis* were one of the important industrial communities and seemed to have organised themselves into a distinct corporate body. In the Teki copper plate record of Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga¹⁸³ they were mentioned as *Telikivēvuru* or *Telikivēguru*. They were known as *Teliki* 1000, as the community was subdivided into a thousand families. In the epigraphs, they were described as *Paulastya sahasra śākhānvaya gōtrulu*¹⁸⁴ (the descendants of the 1000 branches which sprang from Paulastya). Some records of the period exclusively describe them as *Bezawada śāsanulaina Telikivēvuru*, which literally means that the *Teliki* 1000 who were the rulers of (lords of) Bezawada.¹⁸⁵ It was the common practice of the time for persons who had been living for long in a particular place or exercised some influence there, to describe themselves as *śāsanulu*, *puravarādhyakshulu* and *puravarēśvarulu*¹⁸⁶ (chiefs of city) of that place. Hence, it may be assumed that Bezawada was the general headquarters of the guild. According to the Teki plates, the *Telikis* were the hereditary servants of the Eastern Chāḷukyan family.¹⁸⁷ They were stated to have immigrated with the mythical king Vijayāditya of Ayōdhya and settled at *Vijayavāta* (the modern Bezawada) which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Chāḷukyas.

The records of the period enumerate some interesting details concerning the social and economic life of the *Telikivēvuru*. The *prafasti* of the community provides much valuable material in this context.¹⁸⁸ The *prafasti* of the community runs as follows : *yamaniyama dharma parāyaṇulu-Brahma sambhava paulastya kulakramāgata manu vaṁsodbhavulu—sakalaśāstra viśāradulu—kanakāpurī Ayōdhyāpurī Gajapurādhi-nāyakulu—Indrakīla nāgaśrī Krishṇaveṇṇyānadītira śrī Vijayavāti purādhināyakulu—Ayōdhyāpura varēśvara bhṛityulu—sakalai-*

śvarya śabdānvayulu-kapila mahāmuni vara prasāda labhda Chālukya rājya mūlastambhāvamānulu-satya sauchāchāra virājītilu—Gurudēva pādārādhakulu—Bhagavatīlabdha vara prasādulu—kapilamaṭha pratishṭītilu—Paulastya sahasra sākḥānvaya gōtrulu—Bezawāda Mallēśvaradēva śrī pāda padmārādhakulu.

By the above *praśasti* of the *Telikis*, it is evident that these *Telikis* were devoted to the observance of self-control, discipline and good conduct, well versed in all the *śāstras*, and devoted to truth, piety and good conduct. In regard to their religion, it has been stated that they were the worshippers of the holy feet of Mallēśvara of Bezawada and the worshippers of the holy feet of preceptors and Gods and the recipients of boons from goddess Bhagavati. It appears from the same *praśasti* that the *Telikivēvuru* came to the south along with the Eastern Chālukyas and their staunch supporters, in their struggle for the acquisition and consolidation of their power in the south. The *praśasti* informs that they were the lords of the cities of Kanakāpurī, Ayōdhyāpurī, Gajapurī and the lords of the city of Vijayavati. In regard to the origin of the community, the *praśasti* informs that they were born in the race of Manu, who was of the lineage of Paulastya, an offspring of Brahma.

The Teki plates of Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga mentions the ten family names of the *Teliki* community as *velumanūllu*, *pattipālu*, *pāriyūllu*, *kumudāllu*, *marrullu*, *poruṇḍu*, *śrāvakulu*, *uṇḍrullu*, *anumagoṇḍālu* and *aḍḍanūllu*.¹⁸⁹ A close study of these family names indicates that few of them—*pattipālu*, *anumagoṇḍālu*, were derived from the names of the places—Prattipadu, in the Guntur district and Hanumakonda in the Warangal district. Likewise, two *gōtras*—*Velanḍunūḍla* and *Yenaddumusunūḍla*, mentioned in their *praśasti*,¹⁹⁰ seem to have been derived from place names. By this it is evident that most of their family and *gōtra* names were derived from the names of the places which were their strongholds and indicate the widespread nature of the community in the medieval period.

According to *Vaiśyapurāṇa*, Penugonḍa and seventeen other towns constituted the principal seat of the Vaiśyas of 714 *gōtras*. The members of the community in every town were organised into a guild called *Nakaramu* or *Nagaramu*, the members of which were known as *Nakarams* or *Nagarasvāmins* or *Nagaras*. The *Nakarams* of all the 18 towns were incorporated into a federation with its headquarters at Penugonḍa.¹⁹¹ The executive of the federation was made up of a president or the chief *seṭṭi* of the town and a body of ministers, one of whom was the *samayamantri*, or the minister for communal affairs. The members of the *Nakaram* in every town usually met in the *mukhamantapa* of the local Nakarēśvara temple and transacted their communal business. The members of the guild were known as the Lord of Penugonḍapura (*Penugonḍapuravarādhīśvara*) and the chief lords of Penugonḍa (*Penugonḍa Prabhumukhyas*).¹⁹² According to *Vaiśyapurāṇa* every important issue should be settled at a meeting of the general assembly comprising of all the *seṭṭipañtanasvāmins* (merchant aldermen), presided by the chief *seṭṭi* residing at Penugonḍa and attended by their preceptor Bhāskarāchārya. That is, while the local *Nakaram* looked after the particular interest of the community, the *Nakaram* of Penugonḍa looked after the general interests of the entire community throughout the country. According to *Vaiśyapurāṇa*,¹⁹³ the *Nakaram* of Penugonḍa, had its branches in 17 other towns where lived the Vaiśyas of 714 *gōtras*, before the immolation of Virgin Vāsavi. The places mentioned in the *Purāṇa* are Penugonḍa, Dharma, Dhanada, Pāñchāla, Niravadhya, Jagannatha, Kshirarama, Denduluru, Ela, Ghantasāla, Trigunīta, Ghanabhīma, Viśāla, Kalinga, Nrisīṃha, Viranārāyaṇa, Āchanta and Nagaramu. The places mentioned in the *Vaiśyapurāṇamu* are identified as modern Penugonḍa, (West Godavari district) Dharmavaram (Vizag district), Tsandavole (Guntur District), Panchala (Guntur District), Nidadavolu (West Godavari District), Drākṣārāma (East Godavari district), Palakollu and Denduluru (West Godavari district), Eluru (West Godavari district), Ghantasala (Krishna district), Trigunīta (place in between Krishna and Godavari), Bhimavaram (East Godavari district) Kalingapatnam, Achanta

(West Godavari district) and Nagaram (East Godavari district).

Many records of the Vaiśyas are found in Krishna, Guntur and Godavari districts with the title *Penugonḍa-puravarādhīśvara*, which supports the existence of *Nakaram* at Penugonḍa. A record from Nādenḍla¹⁹⁴ dated in the year 1124 A.D. records the construction of a temple of Viśvēśvara by Kāmiṣeṭṭi, the lord of Penugonḍa. Another record from Ghantasāla¹⁹⁵ dated in the year 1144 A.D. records a gift to the Jaladīhśvara temple by a merchant, who is described as the lord of Penugonḍa. An inscription dated in the year 1149 A.D. refers to one Kanniseṭṭi, son of Tammiṣeṭṭi also known as Brammiṣeṭṭi who was the *nakarapurusha* and *nagurēśvara*.¹⁹⁶ Two records from Rajahmundry record the gift of cows to the temple of Paṭṭisam by Lords of Penugonḍa.¹⁹⁷ Another record dated in the year 1151 A.D. registers the gift of a tank and a temple to Lord Sōmēśvaradēva by a merchant Kēsānayaseṭṭi, son of Vāsayaseṭṭi of the Kubēra family of Penugonḍa.¹⁹⁸ A record from Pattipāḍu in Guntur district in the year 1167 A.D. registers the gift of sheep to the temple of Gaṇḍēśvara by Nārāyaṇa, Lord of Penugonḍa.¹⁹⁹ Thus, the epigraphic evidence proves beyond doubt the existence of *Nakaram* at Penugonḍa in this period.

The commercial contacts between the different regions are to be studied in the background of the cultural intercourse between them.²⁰⁰ During this period, temples must have played an important part in the development of trade. The five ārāmas at Bhīmāpura, Guḍipūḍi, Pālakolanu, Drākṣārāma and Amarāvati and the shrine of Mallesvara at Bezawada and of Mahāsēna at Chēbrolu had become the centre of pilgrimage and worship. The frequent religious journeys to the places of pilgrimage scattered throughout the country must have kept alive the contacts between the different parts.²⁰¹ Epigraphic evidence points to the fact that important places of worship were made accessible by the devotees. A record from Rajahmundry of 11th Century A.D. mentions an individual who endowed in the five ārāmas and also in Ghantasala,

Bapatla and Kallepalli.²⁰² Another record points to a chief who endowed in the *pañchārāmās* and Bezawada.²⁰³ Thus, by constant pilgrimages of the devotees the important places of worship were made accessible.

With the fusion of the Eastern Chālukya and Chōla crowns in 11th century A.D., the merchants of Tamilnadu infiltrated into the Andhra country owing to the joint ownership of the rulers of both the Chōla and Vēṅgi countries. From several records of Drākṣārāma and Simhāchalam temples, it is evident that numerous Tamil officers donated to the deities of the respective temples. A record from Drākṣārāma of 11th Century A.D. registers a gift of a (*kōmaṭi*) merchant of Visakhapatnam.²⁰⁴ In fact, due to the continuous commercial intercourse between the Tamil districts and coastal districts, some of the important trade centres in Āndhradēśa have changed the Telugu names of the sea-coast towns into Tamil names. Thus *Viśākhapaṭṭanam* was called *Kulōttunga-Chōḍapaṭṭanam*, named after the famous Chālukya-Chōla ruler Kulōttunga I.²⁰⁵ Likewise, Ghantasala, an important trading centre, was renamed as *Chōlapāṇḍyapura*,²⁰⁶ as it was visited by the merchants of the Chōla and Pāṇḍya countries. Another important sea port Motupalli was renamed as *Dēśiyuyakkonḍapaṭṭana*.²⁰⁷ Thus, by the above evidence it becomes clear that the Tamil merchants from the south came to and inhabited the important trading centres of Āndhradēśa. A trade route from Kāñchi to Ayōdhya, which passed through Nellore and Orugallu has been referred to in the *Āndhrabhāshābhūṣaṇam*, a treatise on grammar, written by Kēṭana.²⁰⁸ An epigraph refers to a road connecting Śrīparvatha with Ganapavaram in Kammanādu.²⁰⁹ In addition to the roadways referred to in the records of the period, there might have been other means of communication from one region to the other. As the country consisted of a number of rivers such as Krishna, Gōdāvari and Pennar it is reasonable to suggest that these rivers formed the convenient thoroughfares and the transport was frequently effected from one locality to the other by water.

It seems that generally heavy merchandise was carried on beasts of burden like camels, buffaloes, oxen, bullocks and asses. There is a reference to a tax on cart load (*baṇḍi kaṭṭa*) in a record dated in 1147 A.D.²¹⁰ There are references to carts in *Palativāra Charitra*,²¹¹ which indicates the extensive usage of carts as a means of transport. Sometimes, instead of carrying the loads in the carts, they were spread on the backs of animals such as camels, buffaloes, oxen and donkeys. A number of records of this period refer to such *perukas*, where the articles of trade were laid on the animals.²¹² Another simplest means of transporting goods from one place to the other was by means of headloads²¹³ (*Talakaṭṭa*).

Thus, with adequate means of communication from one region to the other and cheap methods of transport of good quality, trade and commerce prospered in this period, although it must have been hampered by the frequent feudal struggles.

As the internecine warfare among the *Māṇḍalikas* was the common feature during this period, there was practically less time for the feudal chiefs to undertake the improvement of trade. Even then, the *māṇḍalikas* were responsible for the development of trade on a limited scale in two ways. They might have connected one region with another by the roads, as it is essential for them to provide easy passages for their military troops to pass on. In addition, to cater to the civil and military needs of the *māṇḍalikas* the merchants are essential. It is evident from the records of this period that merchants catered the needs of the chiefs. A record from Edavalli, in Guntur district dated in the year 1157 A.D., states that Chaṇḍabhīma Pōtiseṭṭi, the merchant of Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonkarāju, built the temple of Svayambhū Brahmēśvara of Edavalli.²¹⁴ In an inscription dated 1140 A.D., a certain merchant was described as the lord of Penugonḍa and served the needs of the king Velanāṭi Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonka.²¹⁵ In the same manner, it may be presumed that the other chiefs must have had their own merchants to serve their needs.

The demand for various goods and articles not only

arises from the side of the royal palaces and state establishments but also from the side of the temples. During this period, the temples acted as the economic organisations also. For the performance of the daily *bhōga* and the various festivals of the lord, it needs several articles such as rice, different grams, ghee, oil, salt, tamarind, jaggery; sugat, chillis, betel leaf, arecnut, milk, curds, honey, mustard, etc. These agricultural products which are perishable in nature were sold in the local markets and were not exported.²¹⁶ An important commodity which served the needs of both the palaces and the temples of this period was gingilly oil. Mention has been made to this article in two records at Simhachalam,²¹⁷ and to an oil mill in a record hailing from Timmāpuram.²¹⁸ Reference to the sale of woven sarees is found in a record at Konīdena.²¹⁹

Probably, to cater to the needs of all there might have existed the weekly fairs (*santas*) where a variety of articles were displayed for sale. For the purposes of selling and purchasing the articles of merchandise, people generally gathered at regular intervals. Information is provided in this regard in an inscription dated 1147 A.D. It refers to the *santa* at Kōtyadona and the taxes imposed on several articles displayed at the *santa*.²²⁰ Another record dated in 1148 A.D. mentions the collection of taxes at a *sthalam*.²²¹ But this record does not mention the details of articles sold in the *sthalam*. Thus it would appear that *sthalam* is the place where shops were assembled on which taxes were imposed. Likewise, the *pēṭasurika* collected during this period was probably on the various articles of merchandise sold in shops pertaining to the *pēṭa*.

The important trading centres during this period were the towns like Vēṅgi, Chandolu, Rajahmundry, Bezawada, Guntur, Nadendla, Bapatla and Penugonda. In this period, there was free movement of merchants from one region to the other.²²² During this period, some merchant communities of Tamilnadu entered Andhra, to profit by trading with the country.²²³ But it appears that the people of Andhra lacked encouragement from

the Chālukya-Chōla rulers to participate in the maritime trade. On the other hand, the people of Tamilnadu under the Chōla rulers undertook initiative in extending the maritime trade. Thereby, several Andhra regions became the market places for the articles they brought from foreign lands. Further, the variety of articles in those market places is a sufficient proof of the brisk internal trade.²²⁴

The sources for the study of the coins in vogue in the Chālukya-Chōla period is available in the form of minted coins, found astray or in hoards and the references in the epigraphs giving a variety of the names of coins. Generally, the coins are categorised as *māḍa*, *gadya*, *chinna* and *rūka*. The inscriptional references to the coins became more numerous only from this period.

The coins of the medieval period are found mostly in the coastal districts of Andhra. The gold coins of the Chālukyan type of the Dowlishwaram hoard were probably issued during the period of the Chālukya-Chōla viceroys in Vēṅgi, in the name of Kulōttunga I.²²⁵ Coins of identical fabric and with two varieties of legends *Śrī Chōlanārāyaṇa* and *Śrī Chalakhurāyaṇa* were found at Elamanchili (Vizag District), Gudur and Krishna districts.²²⁶ Not only these but several copper coins were also issued with the standing king and boar and others with a standing bull and Nāgarī, Canerese and Telugu letters, which could refer to Vīra Vikrama.²²⁷ T. Desikachari in referring to these coins considers that they might belong to a period following Kulōttunga I and that the letter 'vi' in Canerese may refer to Vikrama Chōla and the same letter in Nāgarī could stand for Vīra Chōla.²²⁸ Few coins²²⁹ belong to this series were probably issued by the sons of Kulōttunga. According to C.H. Biddulph the coin legend is in Telugu and reads 'Rāja' and could have been issued by Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōla and Rājarājachōḍaganga.²³⁰ By the evidence of the emblems on the coins it is true that the Chōla Boar type coins were issued in this period.

With the rule of the Chālukya-Chōlas, a new coin denomination *māḍai* was adopted in the Vēṅgi country. Several

types of *māḍas* that are referred to in the epigraphs, issued by the local rulers are as follows :

- (1) *Kulōttunga māḍa*,²³¹ (2) *jayamāḍa*,²³² (3) *Rājarāja māḍa*,²³³ (4) *birudu māḍa*,²³⁴ (5) *gandhavāraṇa māḍa*,²³⁵ (6) *rūkamāḍa*,²³⁶ (7) *tankamāḍa*,²³⁷ (8) *chāmaramāḍa*,²³⁸ (9) *tyāgimāḍa*,²³⁹ (10) *mallamāḍa*,²⁴⁰ (11) *māḍa*,²⁴¹ (12) *uttamagaṇḍamāḍa*,²⁴² (13) *surabhimāḍa*,²⁴³ (14) *padmanidhimālalumāḍa*,²⁴⁴ (15) *gandhahastimāḍa*,²⁴⁵ and (16) *uttamamāḍa*.²⁴⁶

The influence of Tamilnad on the coins found in the coastal districts of Andhra is unmistakable. It may be mentioned that the weight standards followed in the gold coins of Śaktivarman, Rājarāja and the Andhra coins of Kulōttunga I and the gold and silver coins of Chōḷa Rājarāja and Rājendra ranging roughly between 66 and 68 grains are identical.²⁴⁷ Also the find spots of the coins of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas in Andhra indicate the contact between Tamilnad and Andhra in between the 11th and 13th centuries A.D. along the coastal stretch.²⁴⁸

Gadyāna and its variants with a more specific connotation occur frequently in the epigraphs. Some of the several varieties of *gadyas* mentioned in the records are : (1) *surabhigadyas*,²⁴⁹ (2) *matsyagadyas*,²⁵⁰ (3) *bīragoṭṭapugadyas*,²⁵¹ (4) *rājanārāyaṇagadyas*,²⁵² (5) *birudugadyas*,²⁵³ (6) *tyāgigadyas*,²⁵⁴ (7) *gōkanagadyas*,²⁵⁵ and (8) *kṛsarigadyas*.²⁵⁶ The use of the term *gadya* in the sense of a coin is largely restricted to the Deccan. Most of the names of the *māḍas* and *gadyas* must have been named after the rulers who issued them.²⁵⁷ Several epigraphs mentioned *chinna*²⁵⁸ as a coin. Probably, it is a coin of denomination lower than *māḍa* or *gadya*.

The information in regard to the location of mints is unfortunately very sparse. Usually the name of the mint does not appear on the coins. Both inscriptional and literary evidence refers to a large number of measures and weights.

During this period, a common standard of measurement does not appear to have been in use.

For the measurement of land *martu* or *marturu* appear to be the most common land measure. As the inscriptions do not provide information about its extent, it is not possible to give any idea about the land, it covers. A record dated 1127 A.D. refers to *nīrimartulu*.²⁵⁹

Another land measure found in the epigraphs was *nivartana*. On the strength of the bilingual nature of the most of the records, it has been suggested that *nivartana* and *marturu* are synonymous.²⁶⁰ This was used for measuring rice fields, vegetable gardens, black soil and yellowish white soil.²⁶¹ Some of its fractions found in the inscriptions are $\frac{1}{4}$ *nivartana*, $\frac{1}{8}$ *nivartana*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *nivartana* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *nivartana*.²⁶²

From the records it is clear that *puṭṭi* is a measure of land which might have been used in two ways : in terms of yield and the quantity of the seed sown.²⁶³ In a large number of records, the measure *puṭṭi* is referred. A record dated in 1151 A.D. refers to 12 *puṭṭis* of *velivolamu*.²⁶⁴ The terms *puṭṭemdu chēnu*²⁶⁵ (one *puṭṭi* of land), *aidupuṭṭa chēnu*²⁶⁶ (five *puṭṭis* of land) and *padipuṭṭa chēnu*²⁶⁷ (ten *puṭṭis* of land) are found in the records. But the use of this measure and its accurate value are not clear.

Khaṇḍuka is the name of another land measure. In a number of records *kha* is found as an abbreviation of *khaṇḍuka*.²⁶⁸ This measure is generally associated with the dry land and rarely with wet-land. An inscription at Bhimavaram states that the servants of the temple were given the dry land—*cheluka bhoomi* and *garuvu bhoomi*, in the units of *khaṇḍuka*.²⁶⁹

Kuchchēla or *Kuchēla* is also referred to in the records as a dry land measure. The records of the Kōṭa chiefs refer to this measure. Another unit of measurement was *tūmu*. A record from Kolavennu in Bezawada refer to *Tūmemḍuchēnu*.²⁷⁰

The *tūmu* was not only used for measuring the land but also for grains and liquids. Records mention *mummadibhīma tūmu*,²⁷¹ *nandi tūmu*,²⁷² and *narasiṃha tūmu*,²⁷³ Another land-measure mentioned in the record is *gunṭa*.²⁷⁴ But its exact value in this period cannot be determined.

The measuring rods of the land has been mentioned in the records as *kōlas* (poles). Different varieties of them were referred, viz., *Reṇḍu-jēnala-kōla*,²⁷⁵ 20 *jēna-kōla*,²⁷⁶ 22 *jēnala-kōla*,²⁷⁷ etc. It has been suggested by Dr. P. Srinivasachari that *jēna* is a span of 7 inches.²⁷⁸

For measuring the house-sites (*grihakshētra* or *Ilupaṭṭu*) *ceṭlu* and *mullu* were used. A record from Sarpavaram mentions *ceṭlu* as a house-site measure.²⁷⁹ Two records from Palkol refer to *mullu* in connection with *grihakshētra*.²⁸⁰ *Mullu* obviously was a measuring rod, whose length is not mentioned in the records.

The measures of grains and liquids, mentioned in the records are *kuṇṇcha*, *māna*, *aḍḍa*, *sōla*, and *tavva*. For measuring dhal, salt, green-gram, rice and cooked food etc., *kuṇṇcha* was used.²⁸¹ *Kuṇṇcha* is 1/4 of a *tūmu* and is equal to 4 *mānikas*. *Mummaḍibhīma kuṇṇcha*,²⁸² and *prāla kuṇṇcha*²⁸³ are the different types of measures referred to in the inscriptions. In addition, *māna* appears to be the most common and popular measure of the period.²⁸⁴ The different types of *māna* mentioned in the records are *tribuvanāṇkuṣa nēti māna*,²⁸⁵ *sanyambāṭi mānika*,²⁸⁶ *nandi mānika*,²⁸⁷ and *mummaḍibhīma mānika*.²⁸⁸ Usually, salt, curd, milk, ghee, oil and *miriyālu* (pepper) were measured with this.²⁸⁹ It is 1/16 part of a *tūmu* and 1/4 of *kuṇṇcha*.²⁹⁰

Aḍḍa is another measure of grain and liquid such as rice, black gram and ghee.²⁹¹ Another popular measure of this period is *sōla*.²⁹² Its fractions are *arasōla* and *pedda arasōla*.²⁹³ *Tavva* or *torivva* also figures in the records for measuring green gram, rice and ghee.²⁹⁴

References to the weights are found scattered in the records of this period. Some of them are *bhamḍi*, *perka*, *mōpu*, *talakattā*, *bhaṇḍikattā*, *asibe* and *malava*.²⁹⁵ Of these *bhamḍi* is the bullock-cart, which had a quantity of merchandise and this quantity might have been considered as a definite unit for purposes of calculation. *Mōpu* is bundle, *perka* or *peruka* is a bag with opening in the middle laid across donkey and *asibe* is a bag placed on bullock to carry material. *Talakattā* is bundle borne on head and the meaning of *nemulamu* is not clear.²⁹⁶ All these above said units were used to measure salt, millets, arecnuts, jaggery, turmeric, yarn, silk yarn, mustard and ginger.²⁹⁷

The foregoing survey of the economic conditions and organisations shows that then flourished a well-organised, detailed and viable economic system enjoying autonomy. The guilds and their operation, internal commerce, commerce with other regions and coinage system seem to have catered to the needs of different strata of the society. There were conscientious public works policies to sustain and further the economic system based on the principle of reciprocity between the state and the society. There was generous, benevolent and charitable bent of mind and charities as part of economic activity. Hence from this point of view the economy might be considered as sound despite the political instability and this could not have been possible unless there were an optimal social system consisting in normal harmony between the various sections of the society and the state, and, this aspect will be discussed in the following chapter.

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50. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 82, 144; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1384, 1243; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 610.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1359, 1303, 1098, 1248.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1211.
53. *Ibid.*, No. 1172.
54. *Ibid.*, No. 238.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1142.
56. *Ibid.*, No. 1303.
57. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1114, 1054, 1021, 1054; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 211.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 65, 66, 1188.
59. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1359.
60. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1361, 1226, 1364.
61. *Ibid.*, No. 124.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 65; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1243.
63. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1291.
64. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 637, 638.

65. *Key. Bah. Ch.* Canto I, v. 18.
66. *Ibid.*, Vv. 8 and 9; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV. No. 1180.
67. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 663.
68. *Ibid.*, No. 1384.
69. *Ibid.*, No. 762.
70. *Ibid.*, No. 704.
71. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1166, 1177.
72. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1230.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 613.
74. *Ibid.*, No. 1180.
75. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 130.
76. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 613.
77. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 177.
78. *Ibid.*, No. 109.
79. *Ibid.*, No. 138.
80. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 606.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, No. 610.
83. *Ibid.*, No. 622.
84. *Ibid.*, No. 646.
85. *Ibid.*, No. 685.
86. *Ibid.*, No. 684.
87. *J.A.H. & C.*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 71-72.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1178.
90. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1182, 1183, 120, 1177, 1174.
91. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 617; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 972; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 427; *Ibid.*, No. 135.
92. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1048; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 707.
93. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1059, 1048, 1104; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 177, 119; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 90.
94. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1048.
95. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 119.

96. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 59.
97. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1248.
98. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1098.
99. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115.
100. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1226; *Ibid.*, No. 1098; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, No. 10.
101. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 638; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 135.
102. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 58.
103. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
104. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 638.
105. *Ibid.*, No. 617.
106. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 665.
107. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
108. *Ibid.*, No. 638.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 116.
111. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No. 639.
112. *Ibid.*, No. 635.
113. *Ibid.*, No. 606.
114. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 665.
115. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 58.
116. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1248.
117. *Ibid.*, No. 972.
118. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 135.
119. *Ibid.*, No. 107.
120. *Ibid.*, No. 58.
121. *Ibid.*, No. 107.
122. *Ibid.*, No. 211; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 651.
123. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1048.
124. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
125. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 10.
126. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 135.
127. *Ibid.*, No. 707.
128. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1048.

129. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 199.
130. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 10.
131. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.
132. *Ibid.*, No. 1090.
133. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 665.
134. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 119.
135. *Ibid.*, No. 135.
136. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1098.
137. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 665; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 119.
138. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 665.
139. *Ibid.*, No. 606.
140. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 59; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 117.
141. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 638.
142. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 119.
143. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 617.
144. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 119.
145. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 638.
146. A Vaidehi, *Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan*, pp. 95-97.
147. *Pal. Vir. Ch.*, Introduction, p. 14.
148. *Krishna District Manual*, p. 244.
149. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. XXV, p. 71; *Kakatiya Samchika*, p. 144.
150. *Memoirs of Geological Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 144.
151. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1173.
152. *Pal. Vir. Cha.* p. 66, Lines 450-460, p. 33, Lines 708-712.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-365, Lines 205-220.
154. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 633, 1015, 1384.
155. *Ibid.*, No. 1007.
156. *Ibid.*, No. 1038.
157. *Ibid.*, No. 1039.
158. *Ibid.*, No. 1038.
159. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1142.
160. *Ibid.*, No. 1305.

161. *Ibid.*, No. 1190.
162. *Pal. Vir. Cha.*, p. 87, Lines 25-30; also p. 137; Lines 1440-1450.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 136, Line 1426.
164. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1009, 1298.
165. *Ibid.*, No. 1011.
166. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 123.
167. *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965; XI Plate—Second side, Lines 8-9.
168. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1384.
169. *Ibid.*, No. 1015.
170. *Pal. Vir. Cha.*, p. 135, Line 1408.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 18, Line 281.
172. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 72 and 104.
173. *Ibid.*, Nos. 27, 82.
174. *Ibid.*, No. 107.
175. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
176. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1384; *A.P.A.R.E.*, Cp. No. 1 of 1965.
177. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 335.
178. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 606, 635.
179. R. Narasimha Rao, *Corporate Life in Medieval Andhra*, p. 11.
180. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 334.
181. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 660, 696; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 136.
182. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 114 and 115.
183. R. Narasimha Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
184. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35.
185. *Ibid.*, *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 668; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 152, 149.
186. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 797, 812.
187. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 115.
188. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35, v. 38.
189. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 668, 774, 796; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 149, 152.
190. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35, Line 90.
191. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 149 and 152.
192. N. Venkataramanayya, *Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 285.
193. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 660 and 696.

194. *Vaisyapurāṇamu*, 5, 36, p. 46.
195. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 82.
196. *Ibid.*, No. 114.
197. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 136.
198. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 16, 205.
199. *A.R.E.*, 364 of 1915.
200. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 161.
201. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
202. *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58, p. 55.
203. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 123.
204. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 749.
205. *Ibid.*, No. 1012, *Chōlamanḍalamuna Vyāpāri*.
206. *A.R.E.*, 1909, Part II, para 45 and *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 651 and 251.
207. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 193.
208. *A.R.E.*, 601 and 602-of 1909; *Ibid.*, 1910, Part II, para 61.
209. *Bhāṣabhūṣaṇam*, Canto V, p. 4, v. 12.
210. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 204.
211. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
212. *Pal. Vir. Cha. Bālachandruniyuddhamu*, Lines 50-56.
213. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 637; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 65; *Kum. Sambh.*, Canto II, v. 75.
214. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
215. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 141.
216. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 65, 66, 82; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1015.
217. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 637, 638.
218. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1199, 1203.
219. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 151.
220. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
221. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 637.
222. *Ibid.*, No. 617 (Mentioned '*Kammanāṭisthalamu*').
223. A record from Drākṣārāma (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1012) registers the endowment of a *kōmaṭi* (merchant) of Visakhapatnam. Similarly a record from Simhāchalam (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1172) records the gift of a garden for the Lord by a merchant of Penugonda.

224. K. Sundaram, *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra*, p. 49.
225. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 637, 638.
226. C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas* p. 7; T.B. Nayar, *A Hoard of Eastern Chālukyas and Chōla Coins from Dowlishwaram*, "Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of India", Madras, No. 64.
227. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 321.
228. C.H. Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
229. T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, pp. 73-74.
230. C.H. Biddulph, *op. cit.*, No. 11, p. 34, Plate V, No. 59.
231. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
232. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 229.
233. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 109.
234. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 115, 145.
235. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 136, 140, 172, 176.
236. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 181.
237. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 57, 80, 81.
238. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1204; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1183.
239. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 170, 193.
240. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1166.
241. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1265.
242. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1173, 1030, 1136, 1067, 1279; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 722.
243. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 756, 199.
244. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1270.
245. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 756.
246. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1255.
247. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 168.
248. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 248; C.H. Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
249. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
250. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1177.
251. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1201.
252. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1182.

253. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 101.
254. *Ibid.*, No. 117; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 943, 944, 945.
255. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 176; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 920.
256. *Ibid.*, Vol. X; No. 244.
257. *Ibid.*, No. 302.
258. To cite few examples, *Rājarāja māḍa*, *Kulōttunga māḍa*, *Malla māḍa* etc.
259. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1172; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1243.
260. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 85.
261. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXV, p. 130; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 104.
262. *H.A.S.*, pp. 4, 87, 134, 141.
263. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 104.
264. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
265. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 646.
266. *Ibid.*, No. 119; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 781-A; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1199.
267. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 5.
268. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1255.
269. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 247, 256, 257; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1203.
270. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 66.
271. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 351.
272. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1384; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 65.
273. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 125.
274. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1172.
275. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1046.
276. *Ibid.*, No. 1052.
277. *Ibid.*, No. 1084.
278. *Ibid.*, No. 1144.
279. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 13, p. 204.
280. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 456-B.
281. *Ibid.*, Nos. 128, 70.
282. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1021, 1133; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 65, 1188; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 200.
283. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 105.

284. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1323, 1291; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 66.
285. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXV, p. 83.
286. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1100, 1111.
287. *Ibid.*, No. 712; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 23, 9, 8.
288. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 12.
289. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 101, 125; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 272, 293, 295;
Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, No. 274.
290. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 111.
291. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 781-A; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 66, 125, 23.
292. *Ibid.*, Nos. 751, 754; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 66, 125.
293. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1021; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 505.
294. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 729, 730, 1001; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 67.
295. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 637, 638, 639.
296. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXV, p. 75; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 113.
297. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 113.

Social Divisions : Marriage Customs

Basing on the principles of Manu, the society has been broadly divided into four classes of people as—Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. This system was followed in the Chālukya-Chōla period in a modified form throughout the country. The records of the period are full of references to the four castes. The other members of the society were composed of various persons such as traders, artisans, agricultural workers, etc. In this period, important positions were occupied by the people of the fourth caste i.e., Śūdras. Almost all the *Māṇḍalikas* of this period belong to this caste.

From the epigraphical evidence it is observed that the brahmins to whom the grants were made were proficient in different *Vēdas*. Further, it is also apparent that the followers of *Yajurvēda* seem to be statistically in large number than that of the followers of *Rg. Vēda* and *Sāmavēda*. It also seems likely that the followers' of *Rg.* and *Sāmavēda* occupied the

second and third places in the society and in next came the followers of *Athārvavēda*¹. The Brahmins who occupied the foremost place in the society of this period were the repositories of learning as well as the leaders of thought. The learned brahmins were respected and patronised by the rulers by giving the *brahmādēya* land gifts.²

In different parts of the Chālukya-Chōla kingdom, the *brahmādēya* settlements were created and were named after the kings or their feudatory chiefs.³ The Brahmins spent most of their time in performing the religious creeds and learning the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras*. From the epigraphs of this period, it is evident that the main duties of the Brahmins were performing the *Vēdic* sacrifices and advising the kings in times of need and study and teaching of the various religious texts. The kings provided liberal land endowments in the various *brahmādēya* and *dēvadāna* villages. An epigraph mentions the brahmin community as well-versed in many *Śāstras*, *Vēdas*, *Vēdāngas*, *Upāngas* and 18 *Purāṇas* and devoted to the study and teaching. Proficiency in Sastraic knowledge and dedication to study and teaching are the professions prescribed by the *Śāstras* for the brahmins. The brahmins were devoted to the performance of the *śaṣṭkarmas*—*yajña*, *yājana*, *adhyayana*, *adhyāpāna*, *dāna* and *pratigrahaṇa*. In addition, they were the ardent observers of *Nishta* which consisted of *yama*, *niyama*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇa* and *samādhi* and the devoted performers of sacrifices like *agnistōma* and *jyōtistōma*, *aupāsana* and *agnihōtra*.

The copper plate grants enumerate numerous *Vēdic* scholars with the *gōtras*, *sūtras* and the details of the *Vēdas* they specialised. The Pithapuram grant of Vīra Chōḍa records the gift of the kings to five hundred and thirty six brahmins, who were grouped according to their *gōtras*. The Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka Chōḍa record the gift of two hundred and sixty parts of land to two hundred and eighty four brahmins, well-versed in *Vēdas* and *Purāṇas*. The names of the brahmins mentioned in the above two records are mainly the Tamil names. It seems that most of the donees in the two records were brahmins from Tamilnad, and hence, bear the typical

medieval Tamil names. It is interesting to note that many names of the donees like *Karuṇākara*, *Aravinda*, etc. are extinct in the south now and similarly, some peculiarly pure Dravidian names are mentioned in the list as the names of the brahmins which too have gone out of vogue. Certain non-brahmin names which are now used are included in the list of the brahmin names. Such abundance of the Tamil names in the list of donees of Vīra Chōḍa Chuturvēdimangalam leads to the inference that a large immigration of Tamil Brahmins into Andhra must have taken place during the reign of Kulōttunga I. Parāntaka Chōḷa had gifted lands to brahmins well-versed in *Purāṇas*, *grihagaṇita* or *astronomy*, *śabda*, *vyākaraṇa* or *grammar* and *mīmāṃsa* or *mīmāṃsaśāstra*. In *Kumārasaṁbhavam*, Nanne Chōḍa says that the brahmin were the followers of *Vēdas*, studying all the time the *Vēdas* and profounders of all *Śāstras* and worshippers of the lord.⁴ The brahmins found employment in the numerous temples for reciting *Vēdas* during the different services.⁵ They did not confine their activities strictly to religious pursuits but took active part in the administration of the State as well as in the military pursuits. They entered into the service of State in large numbers to help the king in various aspects of governing the region. They entered the army and accompanied the kings in times of war, thereby showing their reverence to the king and patriotism. Several brahmin generals and warriors of distinction are mentioned in the epigraphs. The Chelluru grant of Vīra Chōḍa refers to a brahmin *sēnāpati* Mēdamārya or Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa.⁶ In a record at Narnepadu,⁷ dated in Śaka 1073 (1151 A.D.), a brahmin minister of Velanāṭi Gonka is referred. Pāvulūri Mallana, a brahmin, in his book *Pāvulūri gaṇitam*, called himself as an *amātya*. In Manchana's *Kēyūrabāhucharitram* there are several references in regard to the important official positions occupied by the people of brahmin community.

A few of the brahmins who had taken themselves to the profession of arms, chose to call themselves as *brahma kshatriyas* and probably formed themselves into a separate sub-community. In this connection, an epigraph from Bapatla

dated Śaka 1076 refers to *Brahma Kshatra Kula* or the community of *Brahma Kshatriyas*.⁸

As a result of their high scholarship, the brahmins as a class enjoyed certain privileges. The foremost of them was the exemption from the payment of taxes in several cases. Whenever they were granted *agrahāras* they were given free of taxes.⁹ A record from Drākṣārāma dated in the year 1153 A.D. records the gift of 35 *khaṇḍikas* of land free of all taxes by Kōna Satyarāju.¹⁰ The brahmins enjoyed the privilege of the exemption from capital punishment¹¹ and the penalty imposed on them is lesser than the people of other castes.

The Kshatriyas formed the ruling caste and are frequently mentioned with the brahmins as having enjoyed special rights and privileges. Most of the nobles and officials belonged to this caste, and formed the bulk of the military force and helped the kings in repulsing the attacks of the neighbours such as the Western Chālukyas and Eastern Gangas. In this context it should be borne in mind that all the rulers of the day and all those who took to military service did not belong to Kshatriya caste. Several *māṇḍalikas* belonged to the Śūdra community such as the Velanāṭi Chōḍas, the Koṇḍapaḍumatis, the Kōṭas and Parichchedis and the Mandaḍi chiefs. As they became the rulers, their social status had been elevated and they came to be recognised as Kshatriyas. This can be witnessed by the fact that the traditional Kshatriyas entered into marriage alliances with the Śūdra rulers. The Haihaya Kshatriya prince of Palnāḍu, Anugurāja, married Mailāladēvi, the daughter of Velanāṭi Gonka II.

In Āndhradeśa, the Vaiśyas were generally known as the *kōmāṭis* and they were exclusively devoted to trade and commerce. This community promoted the trade activities extensively within the country as well as outside the country. This period witnessed the social synthesis and adjustments of the people in the society. This was an age of communal

organisations and upsurge of many oppressed classes to power and prosperity. By inventing a mythical origin from the celestial beings and adopting several social honours, the industrial and mercantile classes held superior claims equal to the privileged classes. They tried their best to improve their own social status equalling that of the brahmin community by having their own *prastatis*. The vaiśyas of this period bore the *gōtras* like the brahmins of the period. The *gōtras* of the vaiśyas do not originate from the sages like the brahmin *gōtras*. The epigraphs mention the *gōtras* like *nabela gōtra*, *puchchakōla gōtra*, *yerraseṭṭi gōtra*, *bōḍukula gōtra*, *punungōsa gōtra* and the like.¹² In addition, the Vaiśyas rarely bore the *rishi gōtra*. In the epigraphs, several sub-divisions of the caste are mentioned like *kammakōmaṭis*,¹³ *Vēṅṅināḍu-kōmaṭis*¹⁴ and *Kaḷiṅga-kōmaṭis*.¹⁵ In addition to these divisions based on the regions populated by them, they were also sub-divided into *Vaiṣṇava* and *Mādhva* according to their religion.¹⁶ It appears from the inscriptions that they resided in separate quarters either in towns or in villages. The record from Ketavaram¹⁷ mentions *kōmnaṭiṇḍlu*. A record from Drākṣārāma mentions *kōmaṭṭa-vāsamu*.¹⁸ By this it is evident that they had their own quarters in the towns and form a distinct class of the society. The people of this class styled themselves in glowing terms such as the Lords of Penugonḍa and Lords of Ayōdhya and usually traced their descent from Kubera.¹⁹ A record at Nādeṇḍla²⁰ reveals the character of the Penugonḍa merchants. It describes the vaiśyas of Penugonḍa in glowing terms, as *dharmaparāyanulu* (the followers of Dharma), *budhajanasīravādavantulu* (obtainers of the grace of the wise), *dayādhanulu* (endowed with kindness), *savvajanānuraktulu* (pleased all by their acts), *agha vidhāstatmulu* (possessed a soul capable of dispelling sin), *yaśōrāmarāmulu* (had the name and fame as the great Rāma), *vaiśyavamsulu* (belonged to the Vaiśya caste), *Kubēraprabhuvulu* (belonged to the race of Kubera), *jagatprakhyātātējōdhikulu* (with fame spread all over the world). It further describes Mokkōla Gōmana Seṭṭi as *satya vāksīluṇḍu* (a person characterised by truthful utterance) and *Penugonḍa vibhuṇḍu* (lord of Penugonḍa).

In this period, the Śūdras formed the bulk of the population of the country and consisted of several sub-castes differing from one another in their social customs and habits. Some of them had the occupation of agriculture and cattle-rearing and some others like the *Telikis* and weavers had their livelihood by industrial arts. A considerable number of them followed the profession of arms and became the soldiers. As stated earlier, many of the *māṇḍalikas* belong to this caste.

In this period the members of the lower castes tried to upgrade themselves and claim the privileges of the higher castes. The members of the artisan community (*Viśvakarmas*) claimed a status higher than that of the Sudras and called themselves as *Viśvakarma brahmīns*. Some famous *āchāryas* of the *viśvakarma* family are enumerated in the records²¹ as experts in cutting Lingas of Śiva, in shaping and making images and in building the four kinds of mansions. It was the *āchāryas* belonging to the *Viśvakarma* sub-caste that were employed as the engravers of the records.²² The sculptors Nāvōju, Tippōju and others who were responsible for the work of building the Adityēśvara temple at Mahādēvīpaṭṭana²³ are mentioned in the epigraphs.

There are references to some of the sub-castes in the śūdra community. One of them is the bōya community. It seems that members of this community were attached to temples as cutodians of the temple properties. A record of a general of Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa mentions that the sheep were entrusted to the care of the bōya of the temple.²⁴ A village gift free of all taxes was entrusted to the *mahājanas* of Uṇḍavalli by one Jilliya Bōya.²⁵ Reference has been made to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gonkaya Bōya, the lord of 480 villages and the servant of Rājendra Chōḍa in a record at Amruthunuru.²⁶ Likewise, there are references to Brammana Bōya, Paṭla Bōya, Kāpaṭla Bōya, Nāgarika Paṭla Bōya,²⁷ in a record from Nudurupāḍu. Another functional group belonging to the Śūdra community was the *Teliki 1000*. The members of this group aspired a high status in the society and

wanted to be classed among the Vaiśyas.²⁸ In the stone records there are several references to the potters,²⁹ barbers, and washermen and carpenters. In the inscriptions *koḍamangali* and *rāchamangali*³⁰ (royal barber) and *pedda kummari*³¹ (the head potter) are mentioned. Reference has been made to the washerman community (*chāki*)³² and the carpenters (*karralu vetṭu vāḍu*).³³

Epigraphic and literary references of the period reveal the existence of the community of the *chanḍālas*.³⁴ Spiritual equality of all classes including *chanḍālas*, was the main theme of the Vīra Śaivite teachers. They preach that if a person is ardent follower of Vīra Śaivism he should be respected, even if he was a *chanḍāla* or untouchable by birth.

Thus, this period witnessed many social changes in following the four-fold caste division. Although theoretically, the brahmins enjoyed a privileged position, practically almost all the other castes, except the kshatriya community, aspired for a more privileged state in the society. This can be witnessed by the *prāśasti* of the Vaiśyas, who wished to rise to the position of the brahmin community in the society.³⁵ The oil-mongers or the *Teliki 1000*, claimed the position of the vaiśyas in the society by assuming the large *prāśastis*.³⁶ From this it is clear that the caste rules were not so rigid in this period. Even in the matters of the enforcement of civil law with reference to the Śūdra community during this period, the contemporary society was yielding to some of the claims of the Śūdras. According to Śāstras, the right of reading Sanskrit literature was limited to Brahmins and that of sanctioning of donations to the temples and the brahmins, to the Kshatriyas. But during this period the śūdras were given tacit approval by the society to practise both.³⁷ In addition, information is coming from a Tamil record of Kulōttunga I,³⁸ in regard to the social status of *rathakāras*. The learned men of Uyyakkonḍān Tirumalai decided that the *anulōma* sect of *rathakāras* were entitled to *upanayana*, *ījya* (performing sacrifices) and *ādhana* (receiving the sacred fire). They have also settled the professions that have to be followed by the

rathakāras. Thus the epigraphs of the period point to the general upgradation of the oppressed classes in the society as well as tendencies towards liberalism in the treatment of the outcaste people.

The records show that some of the marriages were due to the diplomatic policies of the rulers of the day. Vīrarājēndra Chōla gave his daughter, Rājasundarī, in marriage to the Ganga ruler Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma.³⁹ Likewise, Anugurāju married Mailama, the daughter of the chief of Velanāḍu Gonka II, and became the lord of Palnād.⁴⁰

Interesting account is given in the Teki copper plate record⁴¹ of Rājarāja Chōḍa Ganga about the marriage customs of the *Teliki 1000* community. The record states⁴² that when marriage festivals were celebrated at all places such as Vijayavāṭa and all other towns, cities, villages and hamlets, the married couple may proceed on the roads on the horse-back and that afterwards when at the end of the marriage festival, they placed a pair of valuable clothes at the feet of the king and prostrated themselves before him, he would offer betel to them in a golden plate.

The practice of polygamy seems to have been quite common among the members of the royal families. Kulōttunga I, the first Chālukya-Chōla ruler had many wives.⁴³ The Velanāṭi chief Gōnka II had a large number of queens. The eldest of them was Subbama, the mother of Chōḍa II. His other queens were Sōmmāṇḍi-Amma, Prōlama and Kāmadēvi.⁴⁴ His successor Chōḍa II had several queens. Akkāmbika of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi family and Pinajuyya, Paṇḍāmbika and Gōkāmbika were his queens. Though there was polygamy among the kings and the rich, the majority of the commoners were monogamous.

It seems customary among all classes of people to give dowry to the brides at the time of their marriages. In regard to this system, the inscriptional evidence is very scanty. From the literary references it seems that it was merely a gift given

by the father at the time of the marriage of his daughter or after the marriage. According to *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*, the whole region of Palnadu was given as *araṇamu* or *sreedhana* to Mailamadēvi by the Velanāṭi ruler Gonka II on the occasion of her marriage with Anugurāju.⁴⁵ In the same work, Śīrādēvi was asked by her father to state what presents she wanted after her wedding. In reply she wanted 1000 well-bred cows and a thousand sheep.⁴⁶ Her father, accordingly, gave them to her and sent her to her husband's house. In *Kumārasāmbhavam* also there is a reference to *araṇamu*.⁴⁷

Sati or the practice of burning of Hindu ladies on the funeral pyre of their husbands, was for centuries, a popular practice in India. The earliest reference to it goes to the 4th Century B.C. But, the mothers of young children were not permitted to perform the rite.⁴⁸ The *Padmapurāṇa* extols the custom to the skies but expressly prohibits it to Brahmin women. It declares that any person, who will be guilty of helping a Brahmin widow to the funeral pyre, will be guilty of the great sin of the murder of a Brahmin.⁴⁹ Sentimental attachment or love for their husbands was one of the probable cause.

There are a few references to the practice of *sati* during this period. A record from Nidubrolu dated in 1210 A.D. informs that the treasury officer of Gonka II proceeded to *śiva lōka* (abode of Śiva) along with her husband.⁵⁰ Few references are also found in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*. When Anapōtu died, his wife was also burnt on the funeral pyre along with him.⁵¹ Similar instance is noticed in the same work, when Alarāju died, his wife Pērādēvi is said to have jumped into the funeral pyre of her husband.⁵² It appears from the account given in the work that though the burning of the lady alive was a matter of much grief to all, the system of *sati* was generally encouraged by the people.⁵³ Except a few references, very little information is provided in the inscriptions, about the practice of *sati*, hence it may be assumed that *sati* was not popular among the people in this period.

The epigraphical evidence as well as the literary evidence points to the existence of three kinds of women in the society. Basing on their state of position, and occupation, this differentiation has been made. They are : the housewife, the prostitute and the woman attached to the temples. Most women belonged to the first group and the other two groups formed only a small minority.

The housewife was the legitimate wife of man. The qualities of the housewife or the family woman had been enumerated in the records. In a record from Drākṣārāma, Eriyasāni, the wife of Eriyama has been described as a lady having good qualities (*guṇavati*) and enriched with beautiful figure (*lāvaṇyasaṁpanna*).⁵⁴ It is of interest to note a record from Bapatla, which describes Guṇḍāmbika, the wife of Velanāṭi Gonka as (*kulāṁgana*) the family woman, having good character (*Sādhvī*), who encouraged good poets and who cared much for the relatives.⁵⁵ Another record from Chēbrōlu refers to Mēḍama, the wife of Gaṁḍaḍu as the family woman (*kulastree*).⁵⁶ Vennāmbika, the wife of Komma described as a *pativrata* (devotee to husband), and compared to *Arundhati* and a devout wife who encouraged the learned.⁵⁷ Kommana, the wife of Prōlanāyaka, the minister of Velanāṭi Gonka is praised as a family woman (*kulāṁgana*) being equalled to Sita, and Lakshmidēvi in character (*satīva guṇaprasiddhi*).

From the records of the period it seems that the family women were religious-minded. With the new creed of religion, Viraśaivism, it seems that women were free to choose their own religion. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya says in his work, *Śivatatvasāramu*, that if the husband is not the follower of Lord Śiva the wife may abandon him.⁵⁸ He also says that by doing so Anasūya, Nālāyanī and the wives of several other rishis were rewarded with the blessings of Lord Śiva.⁵⁹ In *Basava Purāṇamu* Pākuriki Sōmanātha says that devotion to God is ideal for the housewife.⁶⁰ In the same work, reference has been made to the good qualities of Mēḍāmba, the wife of Māḍigarāja. It describes her as *Parama Sādhvi*, who devoted every minute in practising the Śaivite customs (*satata Śivāchāra*

saṃpanna), endowed with all virtues (*uttamurālu*) and follower of the righteous path (*dharmōpētagātri*).⁶¹

The women were cultured and pious and took pride in providing gifts and endowments to temple worship and erecting monuments for their favourite deities. From the records of the period, one can observe that women of different castes and of different ranks had taken great interest in making endowments either to temples, choultries, or other works of public utility and to Brahmins. A record from Drākṣārāma⁶² dated in 1073 A.D. registers the gift of lamp by Lakshmidēvi, the queen of Kīrtirājā of the Haihaya race. Two records from Drākṣārāma⁶³ register the gifts to god Bhīmēśvara by the wife of a minister of Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḍa and the daughter of an officer of Kulōttunga I respectively. Another record from Drākṣārāma registers the gift of a lamp by Sabbama, the wife of Velanaṭi Gonka in 1221 A.D.⁶⁴ Such instances of gifts made by women are innumerable and points to their right of property.

Some of the ladies held the positions of responsibility in the royal household. Kommāsānī, the wife of Prōla Nāyaka, the minister of Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonka was incharge of the kitchen.⁶⁵ There is a reference in *Palnātivīra Charitra* in regard to the important official position occupied by Nāyakurālu Nāgammā. She became the *de facto* ruler of Palnad by her intelligence and statesmanship. Nāgammā was endowed with great intelligence, and exceptional abilities and participated in the battles also.

The prostitutes were not treated with respect in the society. They seemed to have resided in separate streets of the towns. The term '*sānivāḍa*' is mentioned in a record⁶⁶ dated 1163 A.D. which indicates that it is a locality resided by the prostitutes. In *Kumārasaṃbhavam* reference is made to *Laṃjikāvāṭikalū*—(The localities inhabited by prostitutes).⁶⁷ Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha describes⁶⁸ in detail the manners and the proficiency of the prostitutes in the fields of music and dance. The variety of tricks played by the prostitutes is given in

Kumārasaṁbhavam and *Palnāṭivira Charitra*. Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha in his works compares the prostitutes to the thieves and also says that they would not hesitate to do anything, including the murders, to obtain money from the men. These descriptions would show the state of the prostitutes in the society.

In other group of women were attached to the temples, courts of the kings and nobles and were generally known as *bhōgastree*. In this period it is not considered as an immoral act to keep the *bhōgastree* in the harem of the kings or the nobles. The women of this community openly state in the records that they were the concubines of such and such a noble. A record from Bapatla informs that Prōlāmbika was the *bhōgastree* of Kulōttunga Chōḍa.⁶⁹ A record from Tammāpuram dated in 1161 A.D. states that Kāmidēvi, the daughter of Sockkama, who was once the dancer in the temple at Chandolu had become one of the queens of Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonkaraju.⁷⁰

The courtesans or the ladies attached to the temples were mentioned in the epigraphs as *sāni munnūru* and *sānulu mānulu*, *munṇūvvuru ayyalu* and *munṇūvvuru sānulu*. They belonged to a guild of *sānis*. Like the *Teliki 1000*, these *sāni 300* were the ladies drawn from three hundred families and hence known as *sāni munnūru*. These women seem to have been accomplished in the arts, dancing and music. They seemed to have dedicated their life to the Gods and attached to the temples. Probably, for this reason, they were generally entrusted with the task of supervising the gifts endowed to the temples.⁷¹

Most of the women of *sānivāru* community were attached to the temples as *dēvadāsīs* and remained unmarried. A record from Simhāchalām mentions that the daughter of Arjunadēva, the Matsya chief of Oḍḍādi was in the service of the temple.⁷² The epigraphs also show that the community of *sānivāru* or *sānulu* was open to women of all castes and communities. In this period, these women were assigned a respectable place in the social order and their profession did not carry any

disapprobation with it. The records of this period point out that the women attached to the temple were divided into two classes as (1) those were attached to the temples and remain unmarried and (2) those that lived independently, married but were employed by the temples on a part-time basis.⁷³

That some women of community led normal married lives, though at the same time employed as temple servants may be inferred from a record of Timmāpuram which refers to Sökkama, the *nartaki* in the temple of Paṇḍisvara as having two sons and a daughter.⁷⁴ Another record from Bapatla refers to a son of *sāni* Kāpama who was in the service of Lord Bhāvanārayaṇadēva.⁷⁵ It is of interest to note from a record found at Mukhalingam dated, Śaka 1049 (1127 A.D.) which refers to Gudisāni (temple servant) Nāgama as the wife of Pāsāyita Kommināyaka and as the daughter of Yennama Peggāḍa and Erukamma.⁷⁶ Thus, by these several references to the courtesans, it is evident that they were at the service of the Gods as well as performed the duties of the ordinary housewife and did the greatest service to the arts of dance and music by their single-minded devotion.

The several articles of food, mentioned in the various records of this period, speak of the excellence of Indian cuisine in this period. The several food items offered to the deities in the temples refer only to the luxurious food of the well-to-do. The large variety of these edible items, most of them with sweet-sounding names, point to the great interest evinced by the society in the art and science of gastronomy. A lithic record refers to the gift of rice to the deity.⁷⁷ Generally, the cooked rice offered to the God is known as *amudu* or *amudupadi*.⁷⁸ Thus, a record from Bhimavaram includes pulse-soup (*pappu*), green-grams (*pesalu*), ghee (*neyi*), curds (*perugu*) in the *amudu*.⁷⁹ Another record from the same place includes in *amudu*, rice, pappu, curds, pumpkins, plantains, brinjals, bittergourds and pepper.⁸⁰ The curries and pickles served in a meal are known as *Narijudlu* in the records.⁸¹ All these items are of a complete vegetarian meal. Betel leaves with areca-nut

were offered to the Gods. Sugur was also much in use and was called *Sakkara*⁸² and jaggery was mentioned as *Bellamu*.⁸³

The Telugu Śaivite works of Sōmanātha give a complete picture of the dress ornaments, amusements and games of the people of those times. Fiftyseven kinds of sarees were mentioned by Pāḷkurki Sōmanātha in *Basavapurāṇamu*.⁸⁴ A saree of 12 cubits length was referred by Sōmanātha (*Paṇḍreṇḍumūrala Pasidiputtamu*). It is stated that Basava's wife used to wear sarees of such fine texture that they appear to be transparent. In *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*, it is stated that the Māñchāla wore a silk bodice with flowers stitched with gold thread.

According to the status of the people in the society, the metals as well as the ornaments worn by the women varied. Generally, gold was used for the ornaments. In *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*, a graphic description was given of the several types of ornaments worn by Māñchāla.⁸⁵ According to the age and sex, the games and amusements of the people varied. This might be due to the status of the people. A detailed list of the games of the children is given in *Paṇḍitārādhya Charitra* and *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*. Similarly, Nanne Chōḍa gives a list of games played by the girls. In regard to the childhood of Pārvati, Nanne Chōḍa mentions that the girls played with the toys (*chilkabommalu*) and certain toys made of ivory, wood and clay, built toy-houses (*bommariṇḍlu*) cooked food and celebrated the marriage of the dolls (*Bommapenḍli*).⁸⁶ He also states that the ladies were interested in swimming,⁸⁷ their proficiency in swimming⁸⁸ and their skill in different types of swimming.⁸⁹

Cock-fight was very common in those days. In *Palnāṭivīra Charitra* there is a graphic description in this regard. This was patronised both by the royal household, nobility and the masses alike. In the same work, there is a reference to the play of *Gangireḍḍu*, which is popular in the countryside even today. This constitutes the decoration of a bullock to do feats and taking it round.⁹⁰

The *jātaras* and the celebrations of the festivals of the gods and goddesses of the villages provide a great opportunity for the people to display their skills in several games. In *Panditārādhyā Charitra* several games and amusements were referred while describing the Śivarātri festival at Śrīśaila mountain by Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha.⁹¹ The foregoing survey indicates that the castes and sub-castes functioned in their situations and vocations consciously to their best. In that they maintained the continuity of their respective traditions and skills and thus constituted to their cumulative expertise in the various sectors of social activity. Further, various sectors of the society, mutually supplemented and complemented, thus contributing to the over all social welfare, progress and harmony. There were, however, transgressions consisting in that the members of other castes functioned as the members of the ruling and military caste, i.e., Kshatriyas. Also this could be possible because of the catholic and pragmatic religious tradition, which continued to operate in this period also as the general base.

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22. We find the names of the engravers at the end of the records. For example Potanāchārya (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1155) Peddanāchārya (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1149); Surapacharya (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1104 and 1091).
23. *S.I.I.* Vol. X, No. 72.
24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 172.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 162.
26. *Ibid.*, No. 90.
27. *J.A.H. & C.*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 69.
28. For more details see Chapter VII.
29. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1288; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 66.
30. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1384, *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1009.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1288; *Ibid.*, No. 677.
32. *Ibid.*, No. 1384.
33. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1015, 1288.
34. *Paṇḍitarādhyā Charitra and Basavapurāṇam*.
35. *A.R.E.*, 1916, Part II, para 82.
36. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 666; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 152.
37. M. Somasekhara Sarma, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-278.
38. *A.R.E.*, 1909, para 45.
39. *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 163-64; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 166-69; *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.; K.A.N. Sastri, *Cōlas* (2nd edition, revised), p. 289.
40. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 31.
41. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35.

42. *Ibid.*, Line 92.
43. See Chapter III.
44. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1164.
45. *Pal. Vir. Ch.*, p. 29, Lines 590-595.
46. *Ibid.*, Lines 530-550.
47. *Kum. Sambh.*, Canto IX, v. 139.
48. Altekar, *The Positton of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 122.
49. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 184.
50. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 144.
51. *Pal. Vir. Ch.* p. 450, Line 2,560.
52. *Pal. Vir. Ch.* p. 286, Lines 760-765.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86, Lines 720-760.
54. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1164.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 142.
56. *Ibid.*, No. 103.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 676.
58. *Sivatatvasāramu*, Vv. 231-33.
59. *Ibid.*, v. 234.
60. *Basavapurāṇamu*, Canto I, Lines 994-996, (*Kulasatiyaṭlu Niṣchala Bhaktiyukti*).
61. *Basavapurāṇamu*, Canto I, Lines 587-590.
62. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1011.
63. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1006 and 1015.
64. *Ibid.*, No. 1224.
65. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 240.
66. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 989.
67. *Kum. Sambh.*, Canto VIII, v. 171.
68. *Paṇḍitarādhya Charitra*, pp. 343-346; *Basavapurāṇamu*, p. 91. 1.385.
69. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 172 and 176.
70. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 151.
71. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 145, 144; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 918; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 109, 610.
72. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 876.

73. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra under the Later Eastern Gangas and the Sūryavaṃśi Gajapatis*, p. 304.
74. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 151.
75. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 169.
76. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1102.
77. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1133 (It refers to the gift of *reṇḍu kunchchamula-bīyamu*).
78. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 65, 66; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1291, 1015, 1288.
79. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 66.
80. *Ibid.*, No. 65.
81. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1015, 1288; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 66.
82. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1291.
83. *Ibid.*, No. 1015.
84. *Basavapurāṇam*, pp. 56-57.
85. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1007, 1039, 1038, 1142; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 694, 696.
86. *Kum. Sambh.* Canto III, v. 37.
87. *Ibid.*, Canto IX, v. 83.
88. *Ibid.*, Canto IX, v. 88.
89. *Ibid.*, Canto IX, v. 84.
90. *Pal. Vir. Ch.*, p. 20.
91. *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, pp. 434 ff.

9

Religion

For the reconstruction of the religious history during this period, the literary works composed in this period are of great help. The early Telugu works were mostly religious. The state of religion, and the faiths followed by the rulers and the chiefs can well be known by the study of the records of this period. The construction of the temples and the other religious institutions would point to the religion that was greatly favoured in this period.

The ancient Hindu society, which was thrown into confusion by the activities of Buddhists and the Jains was completely overhauled. In this period, the kings as well as the religious teachers made a sustained attempt to reclaim the people, who stayed away from the path of ancient *Dharma* (religion) and re-organise the Hindu Society in a manner suitable to the changed circumstances of the age. The generous patronage of the rulers and their magnificent donations to Brahmins and temples—the two symbols of Hinduism infused fresh vigour into the Vedic Brahmanism,

and made it once again the religion of the masses. The famous work of Nannayabhaṭṭu, *Āndhra Mahābhārata* was regarded as the essence of Vēdas (*pañchamavēda*) and the mission of Rājārāja and Nannaya in translating it into Telugu was to carry the message of Vēdic brahmanism to the common man.¹

This period witnessed the development and popularity of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and the decline of Buddhism and Jainism. The religious teachers and the reformers of this period are greatly responsible for the flourishing state of the two Hindu faiths—Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. They laboured very hard to divert the people from the heretical creeds and focus their attention on the new types of Hinduism which they propagated.²

For several reasons, Śaivism became the most predominant religion in this period. The main reason being the patronage of the rulers and their subordinates as well as the officials, extended to the Śaivite temples.³ Several *māṇḍalika* chiefs in Andhra granted villages and lands to the Śaivite temples.⁴ Not only the Śaivite temples were richly endowed but some new Śaivite temples were also constructed during this period. Nārāyaṇa, minister of Manma Gonka, built a temple of Śiva called Nārāyaṇēśvara at Telikicherla with a *gōpura*, *maṇḍapa*, *prākāra* and kept golden pots and decorated the temple and granted land to Kēsava Peddingāru, the *ācharya* of Nārāyaṇēśvara Mahādēva.⁵ Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonka, built a *kōshṭāgāra* and a *gāṅgēyarāya maṇḍapa* at Drākṣārāma.⁶ Rest houses, *maṭhas* and gardens were maintained in the vicinity of the temples and places of pilgrimage. The records from the Drākṣārāma temple point out to the existence of the *eramaṭha*,⁷ *āṇḍārimaṭha*,⁸ *tiruvīdhimaṭha*,⁹ *Kulōttunga Chōḍa Satramu*,¹⁰ and *Paḍamaṭi Satramu*.¹¹ Apart from Drākṣārāma, Tripurantakam became one of the strongholds of Śaivism in this period. On the occasion of Kārtikaparva, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Velanāṭi Gonka granted to the shrine of Tripurāntakasvāmi, the field of Betalapāḍu in Kammanāḍu, for the *aṅgaramgabhōgas*.¹²

Another famous Śaivite temple of this period was Sṛīśailam, which has been enriched by Gonka II of Velanāḍu by installing a *Kalaśa* made of gold on Śrīparvata.¹³ Another important centre of Śaivism was Ghantasala. One of the Śaiva temples of this place referred to in the records dated 1144 A.D. was the Jaladhīśvara shrine.¹⁴ In this regard, may be mentioned the munificent acts of a few personages which indicate the prevalence of Śaivism in this period. Sōmana Pregarāḍa, a minister of this period won distinction by his numerous grants to the *pañcāhārāmas*—Bhīmāpuram, Dākarēmi, Nāmaḍālu (Amaravati), Guḍipūḍi and Pāluginānu. It is further stated that he visited several shrines—Vīrabhadresvaram, Bhāvapaṭṭu (Bapatla), Tāmbraparni (Chebrolu), Ghantasāla, Elēśvaram, Vēngiśwaram, Vijayavāṭika, Guḍlapalle, Uṇḍavalle, and Vēlpura in 1149 A.D.¹⁵ Thus, it is evident that in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. in Āndhradēśa, the *Pañcāhārāmāṭīrthas* (five holy places of the resort) were celebrated centres of Śaivism. Kommana, the *Sandhivigrahi* of Gonka II constructed a large number of Śaiva temples in 1160 A.D. and erected golden pinnacles to all of them.

As religious and philosophical thought advanced, there arose differences in the Śaivite faith which gradually crystallised into different sects. The *Pāśupata* system which appears to be the earliest of the Śaiva sects, seem to have been based upon *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems. They worshipped Śiva in the form of *Linga*, and wore a *Linga* on their body, especially in the hair.¹⁶ They believed in self-surrender and their aim was *Śivasāyujā* (absorption in Śiva). An inscription from Durgi in the Guntur district, records a gift to the temple for the purpose of feeding daily five *Pāśupatas* during the *chāturmāsya*.¹⁷ Another records from Chēbrōlu¹⁸ mentions that *Lākulīśvara-bhaṭṭas* erected a pillar in front of the temple of Mahasena. These evidences are sufficient to prove the flourishing state of the *Pāśupata* system of Śaivism in Āndhra during this period.

Basing on the statement of Ramanuja in his *Śrībhāṣya*, R.G. Bhandarkar states that the *Kālāmukhas* hold that the

following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next¹⁹: (1) eating food in a skull, (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body, (3) eating the ashes, (4) holding a club, (5) keeping a pot of wine and (6) worshipping the God as seated therein.

Nanne Chōḍa in his *Kumārasāmbhavam*, describes Śiva as *mahāvratī* and mentions most of the above practices as items of *mahāvrata*.²⁰ In Karnataka, the *Pāsupatis* were actually known as *Kālāmukhas*.²¹ By this it appears that there are only minor differences between the *Pāsupatas* and the *Kālāmukhas*. The names of the *Kālāmukhāchāryas* generally end in *Rāsi*, *Muni*, *Paṇḍita*, *Śakti* and *Jiya*. The *Kālāmukhāchāryas* served as priests in the temples of Nādeṇḍla²² and Drākṣārāma.²³ The *Kālāmukhas* followed mostly the *Pāsupata* tenets and their mission was gradually taken up by the *Vīraśaivas*.²⁴

When the *Kālāmukha* and *Pāsupata* sects became much popular in the Āndhradeśa, several Śaivite followers rose in Tamil country and popularised the doctrines of Śaivism. In Tamil they were known as *Nāyanārs* and in Telugu they were generally termed as *Nāinārs* and *Nayanārs*. Of them Tiruñānasāmbandha, Apparsvāmigaḷ, Sundaramūrti Nāyanār and Mānikkavāsagar were important. They were known as *Śaivasamayāchāryas*. All these Śaivite teachers refuted the Jaina, Buddha and other religious faiths and popularised the Śaiva faith.²⁵ The Śaivite *stōtras* made by the first three is known of *Tēvara*.²⁶ The most highly honoured of all these writers is Tiruñānanasāmbanda, who was a brahmin by birth. His hymns are full of the purest devotional feeling and are melodious. He was a great enemy of Buddhists and Jains and every tenth stanza of his *paḍigams* or Hymns contains an imprecation against them.²⁷

By 11th and 12th centuries A.D., the stories of the miracles of the Tamil Śaivites became much popular in Andhra. In Tamil, they were known as *Aruvattumunnūvuru* or the *Nāyanārs*. The stories related to them were composed by a Tamil poet, Sekkilār in *Periyapurāṇam*. The account of the

sixty three devotees of Śiva is known in Āndhradeśa from the time of the Chālukya-Chōlas. The frequent movements of the people from Tamil country to Andhra and vice versa, resulted in popularising the stories of *Aruvattumunnūvuru* in Andhra. These stories attracted the hearts of the people to such a great extent that the stories of few Śaivites such as Pūsalanāyanār and others were related with few places in Āndhradeśa.²⁸

A new form of Śaivism, generally known as Virāśaivism developed in Andhra, in this period. This new religion inspired in the common people, single-minded devotion towards Śiva and put an end to the fights among different sects of Śaivites. The foundation of this sect is generally attributed to Basava, who was the son of Māḍirāja. But, most scholars are of the opinion that Basaveśvara was only a reformer and organiser but not the founder of the Virāśaiva system.²⁹

Virāśaivism speaks of the absolute ultimate authority between *ātman* and *brahman* (Soul and Supreme Being). Śrīpati Paṇḍita affirms in his *Śrīkarabhāṣya*,³⁰ the difference and non-difference between the individual self and the universal self. He declares further, how his philosophical system is completely in accordance with *Sṛiti*, accepting as it does dualism (*dvaita*) between the individual self and the God in the beginning and non-dualism (*advaita*) at liberation.³¹ Even though the Virāśaivites accepted the *Vēdas*, *Āgamas*, and *Purāṇas* as authorities on their philosophy and religion, they rejected the Vēdic rituals and repudiated the caste distinctions.³² In addition, they respected the *Saiva Siddhānta* developed by the 63 ancient and medieval saints of Tamilnad,³³ who are spoken of in the Virāśaiva literature with great respect. Virāśaivism attaches equal importance to *bhakti*, *jñāna* and *kriya*. The integral association of these accelerates the spiritual progress towards integral oneness with God.³⁴ Virāśaivism prescribes eight principles as aids to *bhakti*. They are:³⁵ (1) obedience to *guru*. (2) wearing on the body or around the neck or on the arm, a *linga*, presented by one's *guru* at the time of *dīksha*, (3) reverence to jangama as Śiva in

the human form, (4) smearing the body with ashes, (5) wearing a rosary of *rudrāksha*, (6) taking the *pādōdaka* of the *guru*, (7) *prasāda* and (8) *pañchākshari* which means the repetition of the formula *ōm namaḥ Sivāyaḥ*.

The *Vīraśaivites* attach special significance to the *dīksha* ceremony, which corresponds to the *upanayana* among the brahmins.³⁶ *Vīraśaivism* emphasises right and pure living and attaches the utmost importance to perfection in all walks of life. Social equality and spiritual freedom are granted to the initiated. Thus, *Vīraśaivism* aims at establishing brotherhood among men by elevating them morally, socially and spiritually.³⁷

Vīraśaivism scarcely enjoyed royal patronage either in Karnataka or in Andhra.³⁸ In Andhra it met with strong opposition from the masses and persecution from the rulers. Śrīpati Paṇḍita, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita and Ēkānta Rāmayya had to struggle hard to get recognition from rulers. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita preached *Śaivāgamas*. He preached that Śiva is the only God, devotees of Śiva should possess good caste, and the things offered to Śiva are best to be eaten.³⁹ His *vrata* was not to follow caste differences and cited the works of *Jabāla* and *Śatarudrīya*, approving his actions. *Vīraśaivism* in Āndhradēśa was not a replica of Karnāṭa *Vīraśaivism* and came to be known as *Ārādhyā* religion. The *Lingayats* (*Vīraśaivites*) of Kannadadēśa observed no caste whereas the *Ārādhyas* of Āndhradēśa held fast to brahmanism.

It is rather peculiar that the word *Vīraśaiva* in the records or in the literature of Āndhradēśa is rare. The prevalence of *Vīraśaivism* in Andhra during this period can only be inferred from the religious works compiled by the *Vīraśaivas* such as *Sivatatvasāramu*, *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra* and *Basava-purāṇam*. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā used the word *Vīravratudu* in his *Sivatatvasāramu*,⁴⁰ which would probably mean a *Vīraśaivite*. Contrary to the ancient term *Paramamāhēśvara*, few records of this period refer to the title *Vīramāhēśvara*,⁴¹ which would signify faith in *Vīraśaivism*.

For propagating the Viraśaiva faith, the Śaivite teachers held several disputations with the Buddhists and Jains at several places in the country.⁴² The Viraśaiva teachers derived support for maintaining their doctrines from the *Śritis* and *Śmṛitis* and attracted people from all quarters.

The idea of energetic female principle (*Śakti*) which formed the basis of the Mother Goddess cult was known to the people of Andhra during this period. The cult of *Saptamātra* implies the worship of a group of seven Mother Goddesses. The *Mātraka* group generally comprised seven Goddesses. But, sometimes, the number was eight or nine.⁴³ The *Śilppādikāram* gives the number of Goddesses as seven. The sculptural representations of the deities in the temples of Andhra, suggest the popularity of the Goddesses. These sculptures were worshipped by the devotees, who came to worship the principal deities inside the temple. At Chālukya Bhīmavaram in Kakinada taluk of East Godavari district, the group of seven mothers is found in a minor shrine.⁴⁴ In the sculptures, the *Saptamātrikas* are shown with their characteristic vehicles and weapons.⁴⁵ There are 18 *Śākta pīṭhas* in India and of them four are in Andhra. They are *Puruḥūtikā* in Pithapuram, *Māṇikyāmbā* in Drākṣārāma, *Bhramarāmbā* in Śrīśailam and *Jōgulāmbā* in Alampuram.⁴⁶ Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district is another important place of *Śakti* worship. Numerous sculptures of head-offering are found at Tripurāntakam in the Tripurasundarī temple. The other important *Śaktis* of Āndhra are Kanakadurga of Vijayawada, *Humkārasaṁkari* of Pithapur and *Mahālakṣmī* of Chandalur.⁴⁷

Dēvī or *Durgā* was the popular Mother Goddess in Deccan. The practice of blood rite involving head offering was also prevalent in Deccan.⁴⁸ In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and *Tantrasāra* the offering of flesh cut from different parts of the body of the devotee figures.⁴⁹ The cult of *Chāmūṇḍa* was fairly popular in Andhra. In the Gōlingēśvara temple at Bikkavolu the goddess is found independently in a niche on the north wall of the temple.⁵⁰ The iconic feature of *Chāmūṇḍa* are represented as fierce-looking with six hands. Below her is

a corpse being eaten by a dog, and a jackal. Another figure at Biccavolu shows the deity in aggressive posture.

The worship of *Durgā* in the form of *Vindhyavāsini* appears to be popular in Andhra.⁵¹ A record from Penugudurupāḍu in Guntur district refers to a temple of *Vindhyavāsini*.⁵² It registers the gift of the Velanāṭi Chief Gonka to the temple of *Vindhyavāsini*. Two inscriptions⁵³ at Nannuru in Ongole taluk register gifts of lands and villages to the Goddess *Hoomkāradēvī*.

Few records of this period point to the existence of the worship of the *nāgas* (Serpents). An inscription from Macherla dated 1111 A.D. states that the chief Bēta made a gift to the temple of Ādityeśvara built by him.⁵⁴ The Kaṇḍravāḍi chief Bhīma made a gift of the village of Duggarēlapūṇḍi and invoked the blessings of *śeṣha* and other *śiva Nāgas* on the chief.⁵⁵ An inscription dated in 1113 A.D. states that a certain Āditya put up a *nāgasthambha*, during the reign of Vikrama, son of Mēḍāmbika.⁵⁶ Another record dated in 1129 A.D. states that *Kommana*, the head of the Kummunūru village, claimed himself to be an incarnation of the serpent king *śeṣha* and put up a *nāgasthambha* in front of the temple of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva built by himself.⁵⁷

Vaiṣṇavism, the worship of Viṣṇu as the supreme God and his numerous manifestations, was in vogue in Deccan even at earlier date. This religion became the popular faith in Āndhradeśa only from this period by the work of the religious teachers. There were two classes of teachers among the Vaiṣṇavas of the south—The *Ālvars* and the *Āchāryas*.⁵⁸ The *Ālvars* composed the Tamil *Prabandhas* or songs in praise of the deity full of piety and devotion and containing also the religious truths. Their works are considered as very sacred and spoken of as the Vaiṣṇava *Vēda*. The respect paid to the *Ālvars* is very great and their images are placed by the side of the God representing Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa in some form and worshipped.⁵⁹ The main object of the Vaiṣṇava teachers was to carry on disputations and controversies and seek to establish

their own theories and creeds. Belonging to this class, are the famous teachers—Rāmānujāchārya, Ānandatīrtha, and his disciples *Naraharītīrtha*, *Padmanābhatīrtha*, *Mādhavatīrtha* and *Akshōbhyaīrtha* who established the doctrine of *bhakti* and faith on a secure basis in this period.

Rāmānujāchārya who started a new epoch in the history of Vaiṣṇavism studied *Advaita* and the *Prabandhas* of the *Ālvārs*.⁶⁰ It has been suggested⁶¹ on the basis of Vaiṣṇava hagiology that in the last years of his age he was subjected to persecution by Kulōttunga I. But this theory appears to be baseless in the light of the evidence of the Mallavaram copper plate grant.⁶² In this record it is clearly mentioned that Kulōttunga went to Hastigrāma in Kāñchīpuram,⁶³ and he got his son Parāntaka as a boon given by the Lord. The name *Arulāla* given to him is taken from the name of the Lord of little Kāñchī, namely, Varadarājaswāmy, who is called as *Arulāla Perumāl*. Thus it is clear that the Chālukya-Chōla king, Kulōttunga I was a devout Vaiṣṇavite and a great devotee of Varadarājaswāmy of Kāñchī and therefore it is difficult to believe that Kulōttunga indulged in any persecution of Rāmānuja and Vaiṣṇavites. Moreover, Vira Chōḍa, the son of Kulōttunga I had gifted the village to the temple of Viṣṇu at the agrahāra of Chellūru, which had been constructed by his general, a Vaiṣṇava brahmin, named Mēdamārya.⁶⁴ Another copper plate record⁶⁵ of the same king refers to a number of Tamil brahmins who were the followers of the Vaiṣṇava cult. The king who was himself a *Parama bhāṭṭāraka* made an endowment to five hundred and thirty-six brahmins who were grouped according to *gōtras*. The following few names of the brahmins mentioned in the record indicate their lineage towards Vaiṣṇavism :⁶⁶ (1) Srikrishṇa Bhāṭṭaḥ, (2) Śrīdhara Bhāṭṭaḥ, (3) Kēśava Bhāṭṭaḥ, (4) Narasiṃha Bhāṭṭaḥ, (5) Mādhava Bhāṭṭaḥ, (6) Vēmana Bhāṭṭaḥ, (7) Gōvinda Bhāṭṭaḥ, (8) Vennakūta Bhāṭṭaḥ, (9) Vāsudēva Bhāṭṭaḥ, (10) Dāmōdara Bhāṭṭaḥ, (11) Nārāyaṇa Shadāṅgavid, (12) Viṣṇu Bhāṭṭaḥ, (13) Trivikrama Bhāṭṭaḥ, (14) Dakṣiṇāmūrti Bhāṭṭaḥ, (15) Hriṣīkeśa Bhāṭṭaḥ, (16) Madhusūdana Bhāṭṭaḥ,

- (17) Padmanābha Bhaṭṭaḥ, (18) Janārdana Bhaṭṭaḥ, and
(19) Purushōttama Bhaṭṭaḥ.

The large proportion of the Vaiṣṇava names among the donees suggests that about this time the Rāmānuja faith counted many devotees. This view can be strengthened by the occurrence of the name *Yajñamūrti Bhaṭṭaḥ* in the record.⁶⁷ It is the name of a certain *sanyāsi* of the *advaita* school. It is said that he held a disputation with Rāmānuja and being defeated, became a convert to the Vaiṣṇava faith.⁶⁸

During this period, the strong holds of Vaiṣṇavism were Sarpavaram,⁶⁹ Bhimavaram,⁷⁰ Simbāchalam,⁷¹ Śrīkūrmam,⁷² Bapatla,⁷³ Macherla,⁷⁴ Mangalagiri,⁷⁵ and Srikakulam.⁷⁶ Several endowments were made to the Viṣṇu temples at these places.

With the preachings of Rāmānuja, Vaiṣṇavism underwent a radical change in Andhra. Rāmānuja insisted on the caste rules in food and other things, but converted the *śūdras* into Vaiṣṇavism and allowed even the *pañchamas*, the privilege of visiting certain temples once a year.⁷⁷ According to *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*, Brahmanāyudu, the general of the Haihaya chief of *Palnāḍu*, was a *paramavaiṣṇava* and he threw open the gates of Chennakeśvara temple to the *pañchamas* having converted them to Vaiṣṇavism.⁷⁸ Brahmanāyudu adopted Kannamadāsa, a *pañchama* as his son. Thus the philosophy of Rāmānuja was strictly followed which said that among the *bhaktas* no caste differences should count.⁷⁹

The Vaiṣṇavism of Andhra was influenced by the southern school of Vaiṣṇavism. The use of the Tamil words⁸⁰ like *amritapadi*, *tirumañjanam* and *dēvakarmi* which occurs in the records of the period shows how profoundly the Tamils influenced the Vaiṣṇavite religion of Andhras. An inscription in the Rājanārāyana temple at Bhimavaram records the several shares to the brahmins who were appointed in the temple. These temple brahmins were mentioned as *tiruvāradhanasēyu*

brāhmaṇa, *tirugākarchiṣēyu brāhmaṇa*, *tiruvāmuḍi vinnapamuṣē-yuvāru*, and *tiruvāmuḍipāḍu Rājasuṁḍara Brahma Nārāyaṇa*.⁸¹ By this evidence it is apparent that the religious book of songs *Tiruvāyimōyi* which was popular in the south was introduced in the temples of Deccan.⁸²

In this period, Buddhism was in a state of decline. It did not altogether die out in the Andhra country with the fall of the Ikṣvakus but kept on a lingering existence for several centuries until it was forcibly rooted out by the Vīraśaivas in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D.⁸³ The continued worship of Buddha in this period may be attributed to the changed character of Buddhism. In course of time, Mahāyānism which is more akin to Hinduism had been developed. The Vaiṣṇavas, as the *bhaktas* came to be called and the followers of the other Hindu sects imbibed most of the important doctrines of Buddhism and assumed in course of time a character not quite dissimilar to Buddhism.⁸⁴ By this process of assimilation, Buddha was transformed into an incarnation of Viṣṇu.⁸⁵ Probably, for this reason certain records register the endowments to God Buddhadeva along with other Hindu deities. For example, Sōmana Pregarāḍa made provision for burning perpetual lamps in the temples of the Gods Mahādeva and Buddha in the *pañchārāmas* of the Andhra country.⁸⁶ This record also lends colour to the belief held in certain quarters that the five *ārāmas* were originally the Buddhistic centres of worship and pilgrimage into which the cult of Śiva was later introduced with the object of supplanting Buddhism.⁸⁷ Few records of this period point to the existence of Buddhist shrines in Amarāvati, Buddhāṁ and Maṇḍala in Guntur district.⁸⁸ An undated record from Guntur⁸⁹ states that a certain *ṣeṭṭi*, a dependent of Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonka, made a gift of fifty-five sheep for a lamp in the temple of Buddhadeva. At Tadikonda is a temple said to have been built by the Buddhists or Jains and contains Jain and Buddhist figures.⁹⁰ There is an inscription at Amarāvati dated in 1182 A.D., which registers the gift of few villages to Lord Buddhadeva.⁹¹ Gokavaram appears to have been a centre of Buddhism. It was originally called as Gonkavaram, probably built by Velanāṭi chief Gonka. The

discovery of several copper figures of Jains and Buddhists⁹² are the sufficient pointers to suggest that the worship of Buddha was popular in Guntur district.

Not only the records but the literary works of this period also refer to the worship of Buddha in Andhra. According to *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, the Velanāṭi ruler Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa embraced Buddhism, owing to the influence of a great Buddhist monk Baudhapadāchārya who is said to have become the head of the Buddhist church at Chandolu and its neighbourhood.⁹³ In his work Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha described in detail Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita's debate with the Buddhists in the court of Chandolu and how his disciple murdered the Buddhist āchārya and destroyed his place.⁹⁴ The *Kaifiyat of Tsandavole* also refers to the conflict of the Pandita and Buddhist teacher and gives a slightly different account of the incidents that led to the assassination of the Buddhist teacher and the blinding of Mallikārjuna.⁹⁵ The above two accounts point to the fact that in certain parts of the country, particularly in the lower Krishna valley, Buddhism still remained effective and even made an attempt to resist the advance of the Viraśaiva creed which was rapidly rising to prominence under the leadership of the famous Viraśaiva teacher, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā, who flourished in the latter half of the 12th Century A.D.⁹⁶ Hence, it is possible to suggest that the whirlwind campaign of the Viraśaiva teachers swept away all the traces of Buddhism from Āndhradēśa.

During this period there was a fearful religious conflict between Jainism and Viraśaivism. Unlike Buddhism, which had been completely exterminated by the preachings of the Viraśaivites and the fearful campaign of persecution, Jainism did not completely die out in Andhra.

Three records found at the village of Munugōḍu, in Sattenapalle taluk of Guntur district suggest the existence of a Jain *kshētra* in the time of the Chālukya Chōḷa ruler Kulōttunga I.⁹⁷ These records speak of a *Jinālaya* which was.

popularly known as *Prithvī Tilaka Jainavasudi*. In the 37th regnal year of Kulōttunga I, Velanāṭi Gonka granted lands to it.⁹⁸ The follower of Velanāṭi Gonka made repairs to the *Jinālaya* there, which was constructed by one Aggōti, who belonged to the line of Suvratha Tīrtha.⁹⁹ Another record of Munugōḍu¹⁰⁰ dated in 1114 A.D. points to the existence of *svēta Jinēśvarālaya* at that place at the time of Gonka. The Teki plates of Rājārāja Chōḍa-Ganga,¹⁰¹ mentions *Śrāvakulu* as one of the divisions of the thousand families of *Telikis*. This makes it possible to suggest the adherence of the *Teliki 1000* community to Jainism.

By entering into debates and performing miracles the *Vīraśaivites* rooted out Jainism in Andhra at this period. According to the legends, Amaravati was the scene of grand dispute between the Jains and the Brahmins in which the Brahmins overcame the Jains by music and the Jains were ruthlessly destroyed and crushed in oil mills by the Hindus.¹⁰² The *Orugallu Kaiḥiyat* indicates that the Jains of Rajahmundry migrated to Warangal as they were persecuted by Rājārāja Narēndra.¹⁰³ According to a record from Bezawada¹⁰⁴ Śrīpati Paṇḍita performed a miracle in the court of Anantapāla. Anantapāla was probably responsible for the construction of Ananta Jinālaya at Chēbrolu¹⁰⁵ and Ananta Bhōgīśvara temple at Kollūru.¹⁰⁶ By performing a miracle of depriving the region of fire, *Śrīpati* proved the superiority of Śaivism. In *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, Somanātha mentions, several Śaivite leaders such as Dēvara Dāsaiyya,¹⁰⁷ Gōvuru Brahmaiyya,¹⁰⁸ and Aḍapa Rāḥaiyya¹⁰⁹ who led the Śaivite campaign of performing miracles and destroying a number of Jain *Vasadis*.

Thus the period witnessed a religious ferment by the activities of the famous reformers like Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita in Andhra, Rāmānuja in Drāviḍa and Basava in Karnataka. It is also curious to observe that the rulers, in spite of their personal preferences, normally treated all religions and sects equally.

The foregoing survey shows that various religions and

sects prevailed in the country. But Jainism and Buddhism were on the wane while Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in their more intense form with the prefix *Vīra* were emerging. There was also *Śakti* cult. Although there was religious diversity it seems there were very few clashes compared to the neighbouring regions. The state followed the traditional policy of equal treatment of all sects and they not only promoted the religious harmony but also set an example to the people. The religious factor not only motivated charitable disposition on the part of the state and people but also motivated and enriched the cultural trends which will be studied in the following chapter.

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10

Literature and Art

As in earlier times, education was a communal affair and mostly vocational during this period. As the individual is the chief concern and centre of this education, education also is necessarily individual. It is an intimate relationship between the teacher and the pupil. The constant and intimate association between them is vital to education.¹ But, the majority of the people did not strive for this liberal education, which is directed to the general enlargement of mind and is not professional and technical. To acquire certain occupational skills and a knowledge of these arts and of the tools and implements there was no need for vocational schools or colleges as they were mainly hereditary in character. Every one found a teacher in his own father, or in some other older member of the community, to teach him the hereditary skills, which only by the rule of the caste, he was entitled to learn.

During this period the State supported the higher education by way of grants of lands and villages, by monetary

concessions such as remission of taxes etc. to the teachers and scholars, who established their own schools or to educational institutions which came into existence as a result of private or communal munificence.² The important centres of learning during this period were the *ghaṭikas*, *brahmapuris*, *agrahāras*, *temples* and the *maṭhas*.

According to Kielhorn, *ghaṭika* was an establishment consisting of a group of holy and learned brahmins, founded by the kings.³ Bits of evidence on this educational institution, is found scattered in the epigraphs of this period. Though it is not possible to produce a complete picture of the organisation and functions of this institution, it is clear from the several references in the records of this period that the *ghaṭikas* were popular centres of learning. A record from Nādeṇḍla dated in 1132 A.D. states that on the occasion of *Uttarāyana Saṁkrānti*, Chōḍarāja gave 2 *kha* of land to Sebbana Ghaḍiya Śāsulu of the Mūlasthānēśvara temple.³ Another record of the same date describes in elaborate terms of the *ghaḍiya* who was attached to the temple.⁴ This record gives valuable details regarding the qualifications of the members of the *ghaṭika*. According to it, Kommana Ghaḍiya was a brahmin endowed with *yama*, *niyama*, *dharma* and well versed in all the *śāstras*. Kētana, the famous writer during 13th century A.D., had his family name as *mūlaghaṭika*. Probably, he was attached to the *ghaṭika* of a temple and hence was known as *mūlaghaṭika*. Another record from Nādeṇḍla⁵ dated in 1156 A.D., refers to Vēmanāyaka, who had the family name as *mūlaghaṭika* and a *ghaṭikācharana*. In *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*. Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha mentions *ghaṭika* in describing the Sivarātri festival at Śrīśaila mountain.⁶ Thus by the above stated evidence, it may be suggested that the study of the *Vedas*, *Angas*, *Mīmāṃsa* etc. and imparting the knowledge of the classics where in many cases associated with the temples.

Prof. Kielhorn compares the *ghaṭika* with the later but a similar institution known as *brahmapuri*.⁷ Literally *brahmapuri* means a town of Brahmins. Epigraphic references present *brahmapuris* as settlements of learned brahmins, consisting of

poets, philosophers, disputants and orators.⁸ In a record from Nārṇepāḍu dated in 1151 A.D.,⁹ Kommana Pregarāḍa, a brahmin minister of Velanāṭi Gonka, made gifts of land to the *dēvara-Brahmapurulu* i.e., *Brahmapuras of the diety*. It gives the list of the brahmins and it is not definitely known if the eleven *brahmapuras* mentioned in this record had any specific significance bearing upon the eleven Śivas or Rudras (Ēkadaśa-Rudras), to whose temple they were attached.¹⁰ In another record dated 1145 A.D.,¹¹ the *brahmapuri* land gifted for the prosperity of Kulōttunga Chōḍa Gonkarāja, on the occasion of the consecration of the Śiva temple was distributed among the eight brahmins. It is most likely that the eight brahmins were chosen as donees to represent the eight *Mūrtis* (postures) of Lord Śiva (*Ashṭamūrti*). The Nudurupāḍu pillar inscription¹² registers the gifts made by the *nāyakas* of Rāmki to the *dēvarabrahmapuris*. It mentions that Buddhavarman of Valaraṭṭa *varṇa* as the establisher of the *brahmapuris* and the record mentions several *vrittis* of land as the gifts to the brahmins. It is of interest to note that an astronomer is included among the *brahmapuras*. An inscription dated 1166 A.D.¹³ says that Mallikārjuna of Siripuram made gifts to the *brahmapuris* in addition to the donations made by him to the temple of Ikkūru. A record of the time of Kulōttunga Chōḍa Mahārāja states that one Nāmināyaka and his brother made gifts of land to the brahmins in the *brahmapuri* of Maṇḍapāḍu.¹⁴ Another record from Mōparru¹⁵ states that the gifts were made to the *brahmapuri* brahmins. By these references in the records it is evident that the *brahmapuris* were attached to the temples and they consisted of essentially the learned Brahmins and imparted education to the people.

According to Kauṭilya "those learned in the Vēdas shall be granted *brahmādāya* lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines".¹⁶ Such a grant of land to the learned Brahmins was not merely a reward of learning, but an honorarium for the free imparting of knowledge. A record from Irlapāḍu¹⁷ mentions Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji as the father of Sōmana, an officer of Koṇḍapadumaṭi Maṇḍa.

According to this record, Vennaya pleased his patron, Triṇayana Pallava by his learning and obtained as a gift from him the village of Irralūru in the Giripaśchima country. This is usually known as *bhaṭṭavritti*,¹⁸ which took the form of endowments to a single or a few brahmins. But when a whole village was settled by a number of learned brahmins, it was commonly known as an *agrahāra*. The records contain several references to the creation of *agrahāras* by the kings and the chiefs. The *agrahāras* that were granted to the brahmins who were well versed in the *Vēdas* and other branches of learning is borne out by the records of the period. An inscription refers to Appanayya, the head of an *agrahāra* and the best among the brahmins and his son Gitti who was proficient in all the *kalas* and branches of knowledge.¹⁹ Another record dated 1118 A.D. states that Kulōttumballi Māvi Nāyaka, son of Chāmināyaka, one of the 500 *mahājanas* founded the temple of Kēśavadēva and the *mahājanas* were referred to as those adhering to *yajña*, *yājana*, *adhyayana*, *adhyapana* and *dāna*.²⁰ The Pithapuram plates of Vīra Chōḍa²¹ records the gift of the king to 536 Brahmins belonging to 27 *gōtras*. In this record the *agrahāra* village was mentioned as *Chaturvēdimangalam*. It also mentions that the brahmins were engaged in performing the six duties and the *agrahāra* village was exempted from the payment of *siddhāya*, *avēdaya*, *abhinava* and other revenues to the state. The titles of the donees such as *śaḍangavids*, *bhaṭṭa*, *trivēdi*, *daśapuribhaṭṭa* and *sōmayāji* indicates the scholarship of the brahmins of this village. The Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka Chōḷa²² registers the grant of a *agrahāra* village to 284 brahmins along with their *gōtras* and names. It also mentions that the grants were made to other brahmins well versed in *Purānas*. The qualifications of the donees are easily judged by their titles—*chaturvēdin*, *trivēdin*, *śaḍangavid* and *bhaṭṭa*. These educated brahmins residing in the *agrahāra* villages must have been a great moral and intellectual force behind the king and the people at large.

The importance of a temple as an educative agency and a centre of all round culture, can hardly be exaggerated. Education was greatly fostered by the temple next to *agrahāra*.

In the *agrahāras*, instruction seems to have been confined to the study of the *Vēdas*, and other traditional Sanskritic learning whereas in the temples provision was made for the study of several branches of knowledge, including the fine arts. The temples with its imaginative architecture and abundance of sculpture was itself, a school of architecture and sculpture and sometimes of painting also, where the masters taught their arts to their apprentices. The dancer, the musician, the philosopher, the religious man, the *paurāṇika* and the poet each found his vocation in the temple.

The education provided by both the *agrahāra* and the temple was free, and sometimes provision was made for the board and lodge of both the teacher and the taught. The epigraphs furnish us with many instances of the provision made in *agrahāras*, temples and the *maṭhas* for the pursuit of learning of which, here we may take note of a few.

The Pithāpuram plates of Vīra Chōḍadēva²³ states that the temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva and other local deities were constructed and provision was made for maintaining the teachers. It mentions the shares of the Brahmins as follows²⁴ : 1 share was assigned for the maintenance of one who expounds grammar; 2 shares to the expounder of *Mīmāṃsa*; 1 share to the expounder of *Vēdānta*; 1 share to the teacher of *Yajurvēda*; 1 share to the singing of *Sāmans*; 1 share to the expounder of *Rūpāvatāra* : 1 share to the person who teaches the reciting of the *Purāṇas*; 1 share to the Physician; 1 share to the poison—doctor and 1 share to the astrologer. This shows the existence of a Vēdic college, that has been attached to the temple.

In a record at Simhāchalam dated in 1201 A.D.²⁵ Narasiṃhanāyaka, the *karṇam* of Ganmikōṭa village donated land for the maintenance of teachers, who were to give instruction in the recitation of the *Yajurvēda* in the temple. This indicates that there was a Vēdic college attached to the Narasiṃha temple at Simhāchalam. The temple also served as a theatre for enacting the plays. In *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha mentioned that the puppet shows

(*Tōlubommālāṭa* and the shadow plays enacting the scenes from *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* were shown during the nights as the entertainments to the pilgrims on the *Śivarātri* day at Śrīśailam.²⁶ The people assembled in the temples and listened to the religious discourses given by the scholars. Thus, the temples were not merely the places of gathering for religious worship but also the centres where the social, economic and cultural life of the community focussed itself.²⁷

Like the *vihāra* of the Buddhist creed, a *maṭha* is a monastic establishment, and was meant to propagate different religious creeds of Hinduism.²⁸ Several records of this period reveal the fact that they, besides being a sort of feeding houses for pilgrims, served also as important educational centres.

During this period several *maṭhas* attached to the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples were maintained and Śaiva mendicants and Vaiṣṇavaite brahmins were fed out of the income or produce of the lands gifted. The *Tiruvīdhi maṭha*²⁹ at Drākṣārāma, mentioned in a record found at the same place must have been a centre of education, for the gift has been endowed to feed daily the brahmins who were interested in learning. The *Kapila Maṭha*³⁰ at Nādeṇḍla which had been established by *ghaḍisāsana* Kommana might have encouraged a large number of people to take to learning. The *Mahājanas* of *Koḍamagūḍa* in Palnad taluk, granted the taxes *pērusuṅkamu*, *vaḍḍarāvalamu*, and *bīranalu*, collected in an *agrahāra*, for the maintenance of worship in the temples and for the support of the various mendicants and students.³¹ An inscription dated in 1112 A.D.³² refers to the establishment of a *maṭha* by Siṃgala Bhaḍāru and the arrangements made for feeding the religious mendicants (*tāpasulu*) coming from various countries. Another record from Drākṣārāma³³ registers the endowment of Bḥmināyaka, the *mudiseli* of Velanāti Rājendra Chōḍa, to the religious mendicants of the *tiruvīdhi maṭha*.

In *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, Pālkuriki Sōmanātha refers to the study and singing of various religious texts while describing the *Śivarātri* festival.³⁴ Reference has already been made to

a record from *Simhāchalam*³⁵ which refers to *Vēdādhyayana* (study of the *Vēdas*) and *Yajurvēda*. In the record of *Parāntaka-Chōla*,³⁶ parts of land were given to brahmins well-versed in the three *Vēdas* and *Angas*, *Smṛitis*, *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas* and *Mīmāṃsa*. The copper plate record of *Vīra Chōḍa*³⁷ refers to *trivēdis* and *chaturvēdis*, (*Doniya trivēdi Bhaṭṭa*, *Janniya trivēdin*, *Adihanambi chaturvēdi Bhaṭṭa* etc.), indicates the fact that they were the masters in three *Vēdas* and four *Vēdas*. It also mentions the teachers of *Rg. Vēda*, *Yajurvēda*, *Sāma Vēda* and *Rūpāvatāra* and *Purāṇas*. In addition, this record mentions the brahmins as *shaḍangavi*. For example, *Aditya shaḍangavi*. *Appaya shaḍangavi*, and *Janārdhana shaḍangavi*.³⁸ Another record from *Narasaraopet* mentions *Gunde shaḍangavi*.³⁹ It is of much interest to note a record dated in 1061 A.D.⁴⁰ which refers to one *Savviya Shaḍangavi*, the son of *Kommana Shaḍangavi* who was well-versed in all the six *Angas* or branches of learning namely *Śiksha*, (science of pronunciation of letters), *Chhandas* (metre), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Kalpa* (ceremonial of Vēdic sacrifices) and *Jyōtisha* (Astronomy). A record from *Simhāchalam*⁴¹ refers to a teacher *Śrīrāmabhaṭṭa* as one who was scholar in all the arts (*Sakala Kalāpariṇatulu*).

Owing to the spread of *Vīraśaivism* during this period, some of the learned people specialised in *Āgamas* in general and in *Saivāgamas* in particular. *Sōmanātha* mentions the *Vīraśaiva Āgamas* as *Vīraśaiva Dharma Sāstra*, *Bhīmāgama*, *Sarvāgamōttara*, *Karaṇāgama*, *Paṇisthatila Divyāgama* and *Īśvarāgama*.⁴² In *Kumārasambhavam*, it is mentioned that Lord *Śiva* chanted several verses from the *Saivāgamas*.

During this period most of the learned men seems to have been proficient in different languages. *Sōmanātha* was proficient in *Andhra*, *Karnata*, *Tamil*, *Maharashtra* and *Sanskrit* languages.

The study and the learning of the subject logic was also much favoured during this period. An inscription from *Lingamguntla* in the *Sattenapalle taluk* of *Guntur district*,⁴³

refers to Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji as a great scholar and conversationalist in the court of Triṇayana Pallava, entitled *Mahāvādimadabhāṣinah*, he vanquished in argument Gauḍa Bhaṭṭa. Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha describes at a great length, the method of disputation adopted in religious controversies in *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*.⁴⁴ In *Sivatatvasāramu* also Mallikārjuna *Paṇḍitārādhyā* refutes⁴⁵ the *Advaita* doctrines through the use of rules of logic. In Mallavaram plates,⁴⁶ Parāntaka Chōḷa set apart from shares for the Brahmins who were proficient in *Mīmāṃsa* or *Mīmāṃsāśāstra* (logic). As a subject of enquiry the *Mīmāṃsa* is of more limited interest. But as a method of intellectual discipline, it possessed a larger appeal. Its methods, canons of criticism and interpretation have received a wider application in the sphere of law.⁴⁷

By a close perusal of the records of this period, it is evident that the Telugu language was greatly used for official and literary purposes in prose and in poetry. There is usage of the Sanskrit metres both in the records as well as in the literary compositions from 10th Century A.D.

In the inscriptions reference has been made to a number of poets. In this regard it is of much interest to note from a record dated 1167 A.D. that there was a *dēvara kavi* i.e., the poet attached to the God called Eraya and *dēvī kavi* called Komme who from the name must have been a woman and was evidently a poetess attached to the Goddess.⁴⁸ From the literary point of view, the Chelluru plates of Vīra Chōḍa⁴⁹ seem to be the best of the records of this period. They contain 114 lines and describe the genealogy of the Chālukyas in a poetic manner. The record is like a small *Chamṣukāvya* written in prose and verse. There are 37 *Ślōkas* in the record composed in a variety of meters like *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Sragdhara*, *Ārya*, *Anuṣṭuph*, *Indravajra* and *Vasantatilaka*. The Amarāvati record⁵⁰ of Kulōttunga I is the earliest one among the records of this period to possess the *Utpalamāla* metre. The inscriber of this record was Vishṇuvardhana Mantri. He also wrote the *Vyākhyāna* in Telugu for *Brihajjātaka*. In his style, he reminds us of Nannayabhaṭṭu.⁵¹ Another royal poet

of much importance during this period was Gōkarnadēva, who wrote *Gōkarnachandas*.⁵² Bhīmaya Paṇḍa is another prominent inscriptional poet. He is the author of the Chēbrōlu record⁵³ which was written in seven verses. This record is of much interest as it mentions for the first time the two types of poetry—*Mārga* and *Dēśi*. The above references in the records indicate that poetry was cultivated and that the rulers and the chiefs cherished learning. The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chief, Buddhavarman, is mentioned as an armour to good poets. The epithets—*kavivinōda*. Delighter in poetry, *sukavikīra sujana janādhara* speak for the general interest of the rulers in literature.⁵⁴ Likewise, the *prāśasti* of the Kōṭas attest to their patronage of scholars.⁵⁵ This evidence points to the fact that the feudatory princes and the ministers have extended their patronage to men of letters.

The *prāśasti kāvyas* of the inscriptions greatly influenced the literary style and gave impetus for the emergence of *chamṇu kāvya*, which became the model for the Telugu writers. This *chamṇu kāvya* is classical in form and diction and is generally termed as *mārga Kavita*. The earliest *prabandha kāvya* during the Chālukya-Chōḷa period is *Kumārasambhavam* written by Nanne Chōḍa. In the prologue of this work it has been mentioned that Nanne Chōḍa belonged to the solar race and *kāśyapa gōtra* and was a descendent of Karikāla Chōḷa. His mother was Śrīsati and his father was Chōḍaballi, the ruler of Pākanādu. He had the titles *kavirāja sikhāmaṇi* and *tēnkaṇāḍitya* and dedicated *Kumārasambhavam* to *gurujangama Mallikārjunadēva*, by whose mercy, he learnt to write good poetry and refers to him as an incarnation of lord Śiva.⁵⁶ Although he is the ruler of Pākanādu 21,000, he did not mention any historical facts in his work. Hence the date of this royal poet became a question of great controversy. But, by considering the language of the *kāvya*, it has been generally accepted that he belongs to the period in between 1130 A.D. and 1150 A.D. *Kumārasambhavam* is a *chamṇu kāvya* in Telugu consisting of twelve cantos. Nanne Chōḍa followed the eight *sargas* of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhavam* and *Alaṅkāraśāstra* of Udbhata. But the work of Nanne Chōḍa is not completely

based on the works either of these, although translations of a few *ślōkas* from Kālidāsa's work are found scattered here and there.⁵⁷ In this *kāvya*, Nanne Chōḍa depicted the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, the birth and achievements of the war-god drawn from the *Śaiva Purāṇas* and the *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa and Udbhata. He also describes in his *Kāvya* the birth of Gaṇeśa, the sacrifice of Daksha, the self-immolation of Sati, her birth as Pārvatī, marriage with Śiva, the birth of Kumāra and the destruction of the demon Tāraka.

Nanne Chōḍa was the first royal poet to use *jānu Tenugu* in his *Kāvya*. The actual meaning of the term *jānu* that has been prefixed to the word *Tenugu* by Nanne Chōḍa is not quite clear. But the literary forms used by Nanne Chōḍa does not greatly differ from that used by Nannaya and others. All the more, it was followed by Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha who popularised the *Vīraśaivism*. By this it can be assumed that *jānu Tenugu* is the more intelligible Telugu. Though his language is simple, it teems with archaic terms and expressions which are unintelligible to the modern reader.⁵⁸ In *Kumārasambhavam*, Nanne Chōḍa makes mention of the *aṣṭādaśa varṇana* which is a characteristic feature of a *prabandha kāvya*.⁵⁹ Influence of Tamil literature on the work of Nanne Chōḍa can well be perceived. In the story of the birth of Ganesa with elephant face, influence of *Tēvāram* can be traced.⁶⁰ The influence of Kannada literature can also be seen in the work of Nanne Chōḍa. The usage of the metre *valapalagilakaprāsa* in his work points to the influence of the Kannada literature on Telugu. Moreover, many Tamil and Kannada words crept into the work, *Kumārasambhavam*. The description of the beauty of Pārvatī reminds of the thirty-two characteristics of a female deity as mentioned in the *Śilpasastra*. Some sayings in the work are unique and the figure of speech are modelled after the *Ślōkas* in *Kāvyaśāstra* of Udbhata. The work shows the scholarship of Nanne Chōḍa in sixty-four *Kaḷas*. He followed the Telugu metres such as *utpalamāla*, *chāmpakamāla*, *sīsamu*, *kandamu* and *taruvōja*. He wrote another work *Kaḷāvilāsa*.⁶¹ He is a great

poet and the words used by him convey deep thoughts in the minds of the readers.

Kēvūrabāhu Charitram composed by Manchana is a translation into Telugu of Rājasekhara's drama, the *Viddhasālabhañjika*. But *Kēvūrabāhu Charitram* is not a literal translation but includes many tales drawn from *Pañchatantra* and other Sanskrit works of the class. He showed a great skill in depicting the several tales, and it was dedicated to Naṇḍūri Guṇḍamantri. As he mentioned Nannaya and Tikkana in his work the date of Manchana may be fixed as 1300 A.D. Another story writer of this period is Kētana, who wrote *Daśakumāra Charitram*. It is a translation into Telugu of Dandin's famous work of the same name. The work of Kētana is also not strictly a literal translation of Dandin's work, as there are some deviations from the Sanskrit original in details here and there and can be dated to 1250 A.D.⁶²

Another work of Kētana is the translation of the Vyavaharakāṇḍa of *Mitākshara*, a commentary on the *Vājñavalkya Smṛiti* by Vijñānēśvara. Vijñānēśvara was a profound student of *Pūrvamīmāṃsa* system and flourished at the court of Vikramāditya VI as a prime-minister. His pre-eminence as a learned ascetic enabled him to overrule the great commentaries of Viśvarūpa and of Bhōja and to establish the heritable right of the widow and the daughter not made of *putrika*, which had been denied by *Smṛiti* writers and the commentators who preceded him. Kētana probably undertook the translation of this work in order to facilitate the administration of justice.

A notable work of this period is a treatise on mathematics, *Pāvulūrigaṇitam* written by Pāvulūri Mallana. This work is mainly based on the Sanskrit work *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraham* written by Mahāvīrāchārya, Jain post of 9th Century A.D. Mallana explicitly stated in his work that he took his problems from the practices followed in Andhra. Mallana is the head of Pāvulūru village in Kammanāḍu. A royal poet Rājāditya (1120 A.D.) wrote a book, *Rājāditya Gaṇita*, in Kannada literature. The intimate relationship between these two works show the influences of Kannada literature over that of Telugu.

The contribution of the Śaivites to the Telugu literature in this period is immense. The works of the Śaivites are especially related to the growth of the *dvipadā kāvyas* and *dēśi* compositions.⁶³ The Śaivite authors were devoted mainly to the hagiology of the Śiva saints, the exposition of the Śaiva theosophy and the eulogy of Śiva and his attendant deities.⁶⁴ *Śivatatvasāramu*, composed by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya begins a new epoch in the history of Telugu literature.⁶⁵ By the evidence of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhya Charitra*,⁶⁶ Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita wrote the *Kāvyas* such as *Lingōdbbhavadēvu godya*,⁶⁷ *Rudra Mahima*,⁶⁸ *Gaṇasahasramāla*,⁶⁹ *Amarēśvarāshṭakamu*,⁷⁰ and *Parvatavarṇanam*.⁷¹ In Kannada language, he wrote the works *Gaṇasahasranāma*, *Ishṭalingastōtra* and *Basavagīta*.⁷² The date of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita can be fixed on the basis of his contemporary personages. The names of the contemporary rulers mentioned in his work were Basaveśvara of Kalyāṇi, Velanāṭi Chōḍa of Chandolu and Udayana of Pānugallu. As they belong to the last quarter of 12th century A.D., the date of the work of Mallikārjuna can be assigned to that. Even though *Śivatatvasāramu* is known as a *Śatakam*, it contains only 489 verses in Kannada metre. Several verses of *Śivatatvasāramu* were copied by the later Vira Śaiva poet, Pālkuriki Sōmanātha in *Paṇḍitārādhya Charitra*.

The main aim of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, another Śaivite poet, was the propagation of Viraśaiva cult, by disputing the doctrines of the Jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist religions. To make his religion, much easier for the understanding of the masses, Sōmanātha employed *jānu Tenugu* in his works. He wrote two biographical works *Basavapurāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhya Charitra* in *dvipada* metre. In the work *Anubhavasāra*, Sōmanātha employed *mālini*, *mānini*, *taruvōja*, *tribhangi*, and *kraunchapadamu* metres. Even though he used the *dēśi* style in his work, he also followed several *mārga* conventions of writing formulated by Nannayabhaṭṭu.

In *Basavapurāṇamu*, Sōmanātha demonstrated that Vēdic ideas could be expressed in very simple language and the use of Sanskrit could very well be avoided.⁷³ Sōmanātha not only described the doctrines of Viraśaiva faith but also referred to

several important social and religious features in the Telugu country during this period. The other work, *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, is a *dvipada kāvya* composed in five *prakaraṇas*. It is a standard work of the *ārādhyā* cult. Another work of him, *Aksharāṅka Gadya* shows the great knowledge and scholarship of Sōmanatha in the science of language. In it, Sōmanatha uses all the letters in the alphabetical order, beginning his first verse with the first letter 'అ' (A) and ending the latter with 'క్ష' (Ksha). In all his works, the flow of his verse is unrestrained and its technique is uniformly excellent.

Thus, the evidence of the several literary compositions during this period points to the fact that the writers of this period did not follow any one routine method in their writings. Their real effort to make the language, a vehicle for the expression of the most intricate thought can be clearly proved by their various innovations in composing their works. In several spheres of disciplines such as mathematics, law and religion, a number of literary works were composed which shows the creative activity of men of letters in those days.

In the life of the people music played a very significant role, being patronised by the kings as well as practised by the ordinary folk. The Mallavaram copper plate record of Parāntaka Chōḷa informs that the king himself composed poems in different *rāgas* to suit the *kāvyas* and *nāṭakas* and stories. It further states that the king used to sing and act in the dramas.⁷⁶ In *Kumārasāmbhavam*, Nanne Chōḍa, who was himself a ruler, mentions different styles of music. Like the literature and dance of the period, music was also practised in two styles—the *dēśi* and the *mārga*. The first category was the popular style and includes the regional musical forms. Composition of the literary works in *dvipada* metre by the Viraśaiva teachers,⁷⁷ indicates the encouragement given by them for the development of the *dēśi* style of music. In Nanne Chōḍa's *Kumārasāmbhavam* reference has been made to the

rāgas,⁷⁶ which are characterised as the *dēśi Rāgas* by sage Mātanga. They are *āhiri*, *phalamañjari*, *āndōḷi*, *bhairavi* and *nāṭa*. In *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha refers to *āndōḷi* as *rāga*.⁷⁷ This *rāga* might be the Prakrit form of *Āndhri* mentioned by sage Bharata.⁷⁸ Likewise, in *Basava Purāṇamu* reference has been made to the singing of songs at the time of wedding. It refers to *Anandagītamulu*, *Samkuragītamulu*, *Jati Gītamulu*.⁷⁹ While describing the marriage ceremony of Lord Śiva, Nanne Chōḍa refers to *ālathi* songs.⁸⁰ Nanne Chōḍa refers to the songs sung by the Śabara Kanyas in the Himalayan region,⁸¹ as *gauḍu gītamulu* and songs with several *rāgas*. The other folk songs mentioned in *Kumārasambhavam* are *Dampuḷḷa Pāṭalu* and *Ankamālikalu*. The tribal ladies seem to have sung several *Rāgas* in an ecstatic state while pounding turmeric and bamboo corn.⁸² Reference has been made to *Yakshagāna* in *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*,⁸³ while describing the *Śivarātri* festival. It is also mentioned in *Palnāṭivīra Charitra*.

The *mārga* style of music is the classical and the more sophisticated style. This was the style in which the techniques are followed according to the Sanskritic traditions. Several musical forms have been exposed in *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*. In *Palnāṭivīra Charitra* reference has been made to the musicians as well as the musical instruments used in the royal courts.⁸⁴ The instruments such as *vīṇas*, *mridaṁgas*, *gajjelu* and *maddela* are mentioned in it. The epigraphical evidence of this period also points to the usage of drums, flutes, conches and *vīṇas* in the temples.⁸⁵ In *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, Sōmanātha gives a long list of stringed instruments calling them all varieties of *vīṇa*.⁸⁶

In the Viṣṇu temples, the singers of *Tiruvāmuḍi* formed a part of its organisation. Two records⁸⁷ from Bhimāvaram register the gifts to the musicians. It refers to them as *Tiruvāmuḍi vinnapamu chēyuvāru*. Another record from Koppāram makes reference to *gāyaki* Gauraya and *gāyaka* Aditya who were attached to the Kōḍaṇḍarāmasvāmi temple

that were awarded with gifts.⁸⁸ It is of interest to note the different gifts that were endowed to the drum-player, flute-player, conch-blower and musician by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍarāju* at Nādeṇḍla.⁸⁹ Thus by the evidence cited above it can be estimated that music was the highly developed art which played a prominent role in the society.

Like music, dance and drama played an important part in the social life of the people. Both music and dance received the patronage of kings and noblemen. In the literary works of the period, two types of dances—*dēśi* and *mārga*, are mentioned. It is of interest to note a record from Timmāpuram⁹⁰ which refers to Sökkama as the *nurtaki* of Lord Paṇḍiśvaradēva of Chandolu. It also informs that she can be compared to *Mēnaka*, *Ūrvasī* and *Rāmbha* in beauty. In another record from Koṇidena⁹¹ dated in 1147 A.D., reference is made to the dancers (*naṭṭavulu*) of the temple of Lord Balliśvara Mahādēva. The Mallavaram plates refer to the compiling of dramas (*nāṭakas*) and also the enactment in them by King Parāntaka Chōḷa.⁹²

There are many references to dance in *Basava Purāṇamu*, *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitram* and *Palnātivīra Charitra*. While describing the marriage of Basavēśvara, Sōmanātha referred to different styles of dance as *Kōlāṭamu*, *Pātra*, *Goṇḍli*, *Pēraṇi* and *Kēlika*. The *Kōlāṭamu* might be *Daṇḍarāsakamu* or *Kummi*, which is a group dance with small sticks which are used for keeping rhythm. Reference to *Pātra* is not found anywhere else except in *Basava Purāṇamu*. The style *Pēraṇi* seems to have been acted according to the traditions of Saurashtra. The description in it gives a detailed account of the types of musical and dance themes.⁹³

During this period, several new temples were constructed and the old ones were renovated. A study of the records in several temples shows the great constructional activity that was undertaken in this period. The important temples were the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākṣārāma, Varāha Nrisimhasvāmi temple at Simbhāchalam, Virabhadrasvāmi temple at Paṭṭisam, Bhāyanārāyana temple at Bapatla, Jaladhīśvara temple at

Ghantasāla, the temple of Mallēśvara at Bezawāda, Mahāsēna Bhīmēśvara, Ādikēśvara and Nāgēśvara temples at Chēbrōlu, Tripurāntakasvāmi temple at Tripurantakam, Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam, the famous temples at Bhimavaram, Pālakolanu, Gudipudi and Amaravati. Further, the records of this period mention several other places of pilgrimage and minor shrines in several towns and villages. Of them, mention may be made of the Kēsavadēva temple in Nuteki, Svayāmbhū Brahmēśvaradēva temple at Edavalli, Mahādēva temple at Peravali, Rāmēśvaradēva temple at Siripuram, Sōmēśvaradēva temple at Irraluru, Mallikārjuna temple at Mandapadu, Vāsukīravi Sōmēśvaradēva temple at Juttiga, Mūlasthāna Mahādēva temple at Nādeṇḍla, Gomkīśvara temple at Davuluru, Bhīmēśvara temple at Tumbarti, Narēndrēśvara Mahādēva temple at Krāmja.

The construction of the temples reveal the architectural influences of the neighbouring regions. This is owing to the patrons and craftsmen from various places. The construction of *pañcāhārāmas* in Āndhradēśa exhibits certain common architectural features. This is the storeyed temple, which contain a flight of steps to go to the first *tala* (floor). The ground floor is non-functional and is reached through the steps from inside the ground floor. The first floor has a *mukhamanḍapa*, the *garbhagṛiha* in *sandhāra* lay out. In the exterior wall, opposite to the *garbhagṛiha*, are to be seen either *bhadrāgavākṣas* or *bhadrāvalōkanas*. The *garbhagṛiha* is constructed with four doorways, i.e., in the *sarvatōbhadrā* type. The lofty *linga* emerges from the ground *tala* and the temple is surrounded by two spacious *prākāra* walls. Generally these temples have plain exteriors and crowned by a three storeyed superstructure. One of the striking features of these temples is the carving of miniature shrine in the south-west corner of the temple by the architect. An interesting feature of the Chāḷukya Bhīmēśvara temple is a huge rocking mandapa built of granite stone fixed in a corner of the inner courtyard which exhibits the great skill of the architects of the time.

The pillars of the temples of this period show a large

variety of designs. The pillars in the Simhāchalam temple bear resemblance to the temples of both the Deccan and Dravida countries.⁹⁴ The round monoliths with horizontal bands, the square pillars with rectangular sections fully sculptured from top to the bottom and the moulded pillars with knife-edged sections reveal their affinity to the pillars of the temples of the Deccan.⁹⁵ The decorative patterns on these pillars conform to the usual Orissan designs. In the *mukhamandapas* of the *pañchārāma* temples are seen the *citrakhaṇḍa* pillars. The *simhapada* pillars and the *brahmakānta* pillars are seen in the porch as well as in the *tiruchuṭṭumāla*.

The construction of a temple to lord Viṣṇu at Avani-gadda, Divi taluk of Krishna District in the first half of 12th Century A.D. presents an interesting account of the architectural development. The temple is constructed on a high podium or *upapīṭha*, which is quite spacious and can provide circumambulation. The transept in front of the mukhamandapa has *hastihasta* flights of steps to the north and south. The eastward entrance of the temple has a lofty *gōpura*, which is a tall and narrow structure. The base and the wall portion is built of stone and the superstructure is made of bricks. Like the *gōpuras* of the Chōḷa country, the outer wall space is partitioned into five rectangular compartments to accommodate the *devakoṣṭas* by the slender pilasters. The images in the niches are carved in relief and include seated Gaṇeśa, kālī, Narasimha with his consort, Ādimūrti with Lakshmī. Unlike the temples of Bikkavolu, which had the *makaratōrana* or *hamsatōrana* on top of the niches, which belong to an early date the temple at Avani-gadda lacks this feature. Further, above the niches are carved the replica of dravidian *śikhara*. All the architectural features cited above, present the Chōḷa style of architecture rather than the early Chalūkyā affinities.

There is no means of forming any close idea of the nature of the art of painting that was practised during the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa period. In fact, the paintings are the delicate products of art and are the first to suffer by the actions of time

and weather. References to the art of painting are found in the literary works of this period. Even though much information is not provided by them in regard to the materials used and the themes employed and techniques prevailed, a general idea can be formed about the state of the art of painting.

In *Kumārasāmbhavam*, reference has been made to painting as an art learned by Pārvatī.⁹⁶ Depicting of the portrait of Lord Śiva by Pārvatī has been graphically described in the same work. In it mention has been made to the *chitrasāadhanamulu*,⁹⁷ and to a small board on which the figure of Śiva has been drawn. Usually, the courts of the kings were decked with several paintings. In *Palnāṭivira Charitra*⁹⁸ it is stated that the royal court of Anugurāju in Pālamāchāpuri is filled with several paintings. Apart from the palaces and the royal courts of homes of the rich were adorned with beautiful murals and small paintings made on prepared boards. In *Palnāṭivira Charitra* it is mentioned that Bālachandra has seen that the walls of the Gamduvari house has been decked with several good paintings.⁹⁹ In *Kumārasāmbhavam* there is a graphic description of the themes of the paintings of tender leaves, lotuses, parrots, honeybees.¹⁰⁰ Not only the rich class of people but also the houses of the prostitutes of this period contained several paintings. In *Palnāṭivira Charitra*, Srinatha mentioned that the house of Subbama, a prostitute contained several paintings in her house.¹⁰¹

Like the architecture of this period, the sculptural art also had undergone a degree of coarseness and rigidity. In the temples of Śrīkūrmam, Simhāchalam and Drākṣārāma the *Vyāla* (Griffin) figure is found as an architectural motif. This figure is sculptured in a couchant posture with the body of a lion with protruding eyes, wide mouth, projecting teeth and a big mane.¹⁰² The Dārāsūram temple in Tamilnad built in the last quarter of 12th century A.D. presents this feature. In the forms of the foliated arches (*Makarātōraṇa*) of Simhāchalam there is influence of the Orissan art. The inspiration to the erection of the stone-chariot at the Simhāchalam temple comes

evidently from the chariot of Surya at Konark. The stone-chariot in the south-eastern corner of the cloister is in fact a porch which is made to look like a chariot by providing it with two wheels and a horse on either side of the base.¹⁰³ A parallel to this device of converting a *maṇḍapa* into a *ratha* can be found at the Airāvātēśvara temple at Dārāsūram built by the Chōlas.¹⁰⁴

The panel of figures of dancers and musicians is the main theme of decoration for the pillars of *nandimaṇḍapa* in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Samarlakota,¹⁰⁵ on the pillars of the assembly hall and marriage hall in the temple at Simhāchalam.¹⁰⁶ At Samarlakota these dancers are depicted as playing the *Kōlāṭa* type of dance. And at Simhāchalam three female dancers and four female drummers and a male dancer are sculptured in bas-relief. These bear close resemblance to the dancer and drummer sculptured on two pilasters of the walls of the dancing hall of the Kōnārka temple.¹⁰⁷ The tradition of the bracket figures in the temples which became much popular at the time of the Kākatiyas, Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, and the Hoysalas can be found in antiquity in the temple at Drākṣārāma. The salient features of the sculptures of this period are grace of poise, suppleness of limbs, sense of movement, and elegance of minute ornamentation. As a number of temples are adorned with male and female figures of a high artistic quality, it appears that the folk art in sculpture has made a tremendous progress.¹⁰⁸

The foregoing survey shows that requisite attention was paid both by the state and the public for general education as well as special education and training as the basis. There was considerable literary activity depicting the contemporaneous conditions and activities to serve as heritage to the posterity and continues as an important and integral part of the cultural heritage. There was development of the science of performing arts, viz., music and dance and the principles were well developed in practice. Similarly, there was considerable architectural and artistic activity. In the former, there was a

happy blend of the Northern and Southern schools and in the latter there was considerable skill of portrayal. All this cultural activity could be possible because of the interest evinced by both the State and Public, despite the political instability. Thus, there was not only continuity in cultural activity but enrichment, which earned a considerable place for the Chālukya-Chōlas in the history of India in general and that of Andhra in particular.

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Conclusion

Thus Kulōttunga I started a new line of rulers by fusing the two large kingdoms as one vast empire, whose effective authority remained in tact, to a considerable extent, for about a century upto the end of the reign of Rājarāja II. He followed a new policy of assigning certain territories and delegated authority over them to the generals and chiefs styled as *māṇḍalikas* who belonged mostly to the Śūdra community. This gave a good opportunity for the several Śūdra families to rise into prominence and virtual independence consisting of full autonomy. There were matrimonial relations of the Chālukyan chiefs of Nidadavolu, Kōṭas and the Nātavāḍis with the Kākatiyas of Warangal, to strengthen themselves. Thus, this policy led to the internecine warfare among the Andhra vassals for supremacy and this became a perennial factor. This condition benefited the Kākatiyas greatly to establish and extend their kingdom, particularly after the major *māṇḍalika* war, viz., Palnāḍ war. Upto the 1st half of 12th century A.D. the *māṇḍalikas* seem to have unitedly supported the Chālukya-Chōḷa rulers in their own interests at the times of external dangers either from the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi or from the Eastern Gangas of Kaḷiṅga.

The causes for the rapid decline of the authority of the

Chālukya-Chōlas after Rājarāja II, can be attributed to the feeble personalities of the rulers as well as to the several political disturbances in the Chōla and Andhra territories in the wake of the rise of the neighbouring powers—the Hoysalas on one side and the Pāṇḍyas on the other in the South and the Kākatīyas in Āndhradēśa. During the latter half of the Chālukya-Chōla rule, Velanāṭi Chōlas became practically independent and supreme power in Andhra, though unsuccessfully challenged by the other *māṇḍalikas*. They were also recognised as the kings by the Chālukya-Chōla suzerains. This position continued, until they were supplanted by the Kākatīyas. They strove successfully, for a considerable time, to maintain the political integrity of Āndhradēśa.

Under the rule of the Chālukya-Chōlas, Āndhradēśa enjoyed good government which supported considerable economic activity consisting of trade, commerce and industry. In the administration of the country, political decentralisation was the common feature. There was the emergence of the village assembly which consisted of the *mahājanas*. Various autonomous trade-guilds acted as the chief centres co-ordinating agriculture and industry and dispensing justice in minor disputes, thus balancing the interests of various sections of the people and harmonising them.

The traditional caste system lost its original rigidity. The rise of Vīraśaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in this period and their militance led to the downfall of Buddhism and Jainism. With the spread of Vīraśaivism, the two important human expressions—music and dance developed popular styles. Likewise, there was a great revival in religious art and literature to suit to the changed social and religious system.

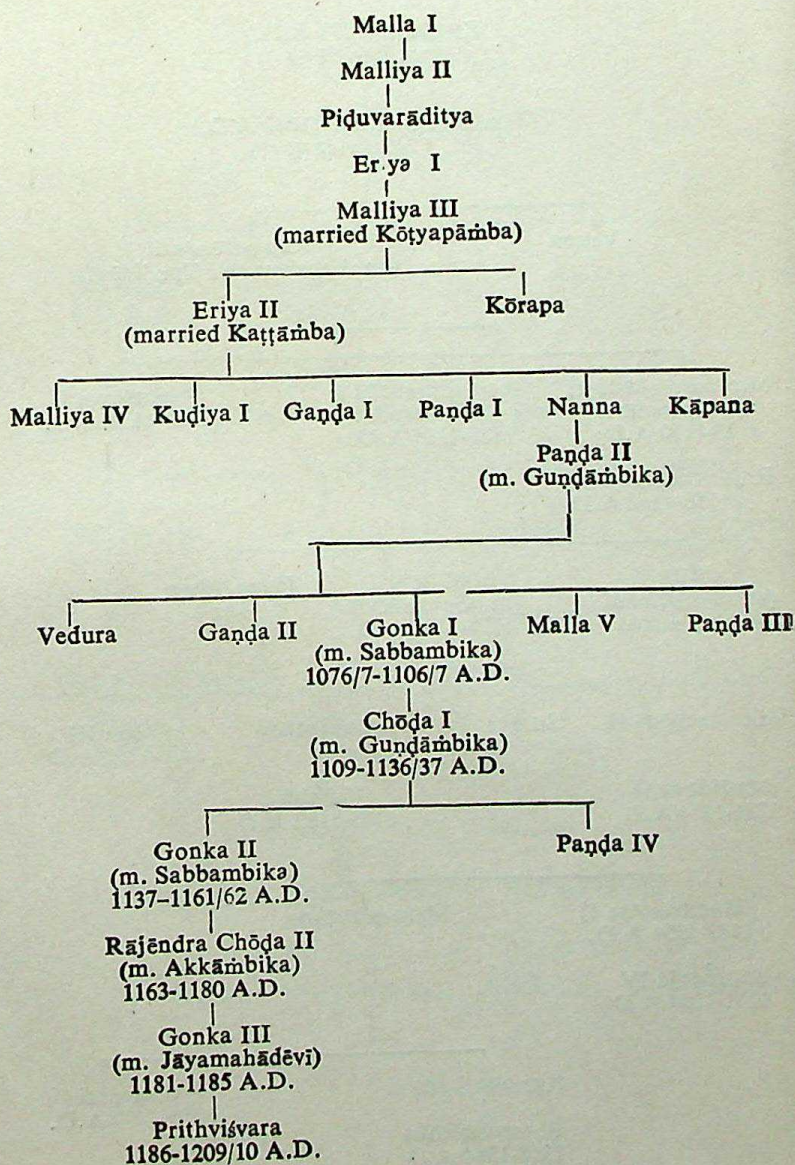
With the fusion of the two crowns, there was political, economic and cultural intrusion and influence of the South in Āndhradēśa. Similarly, the matrimonial alliances of the Chālukya-Chōlas with the Eastern Gangas caused the mutual influence of Eastern Gangas in Andhra and the Tamil influence in the Eastern Ganga territories as extension of that in

Āndhradēśa. Thus Āndhradēśa served as a meeting ground for the Northern and Southern cultural influences. The Telugu language enjoyed the patronage of the local rulers and many works were written in easy style and language in the period under survey. Because of the keen interest evinced by the state and society, there was remarkable progress in artistic and architectural productions.

Thus although politically the Chālukya-Chōla period could not arrest the emergence of political vacuum and instability in Āndhradēśa, there was still a viable administration under the Velanāṭi Chōlas and even under the other local powers in Andhra, who could maintain the economic integrity and activity, requisite socio-religious harmony and also purposive and variegated cultural activity to the fullest possible extent. All this helped the political resiliency and facilitated the taking up of the political threads by the Kākatīyas who integrated the whole of Āndhradēśa under their auspices, leading to another came of political and cultural glory of Andhra.

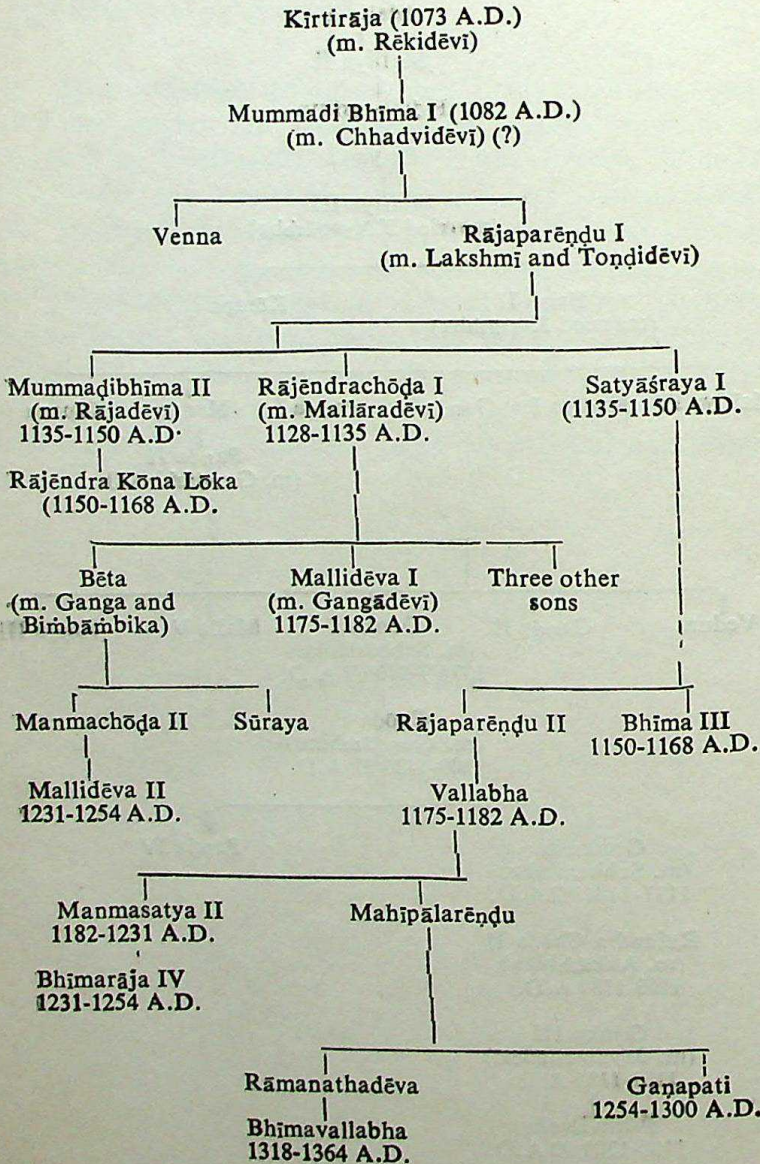
APPENDIX—F

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VELANĀTI CHŌḌAS



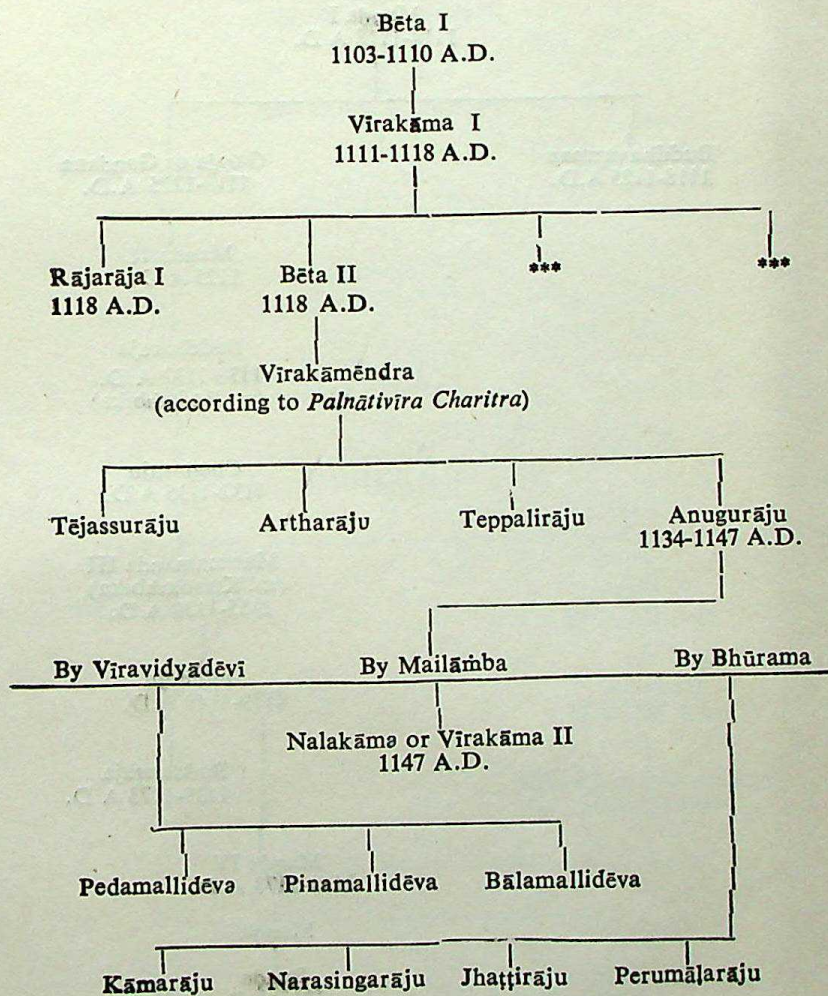
APPENDIX II

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE HAIHAYAS
OF KŌNA MAṆḌALA

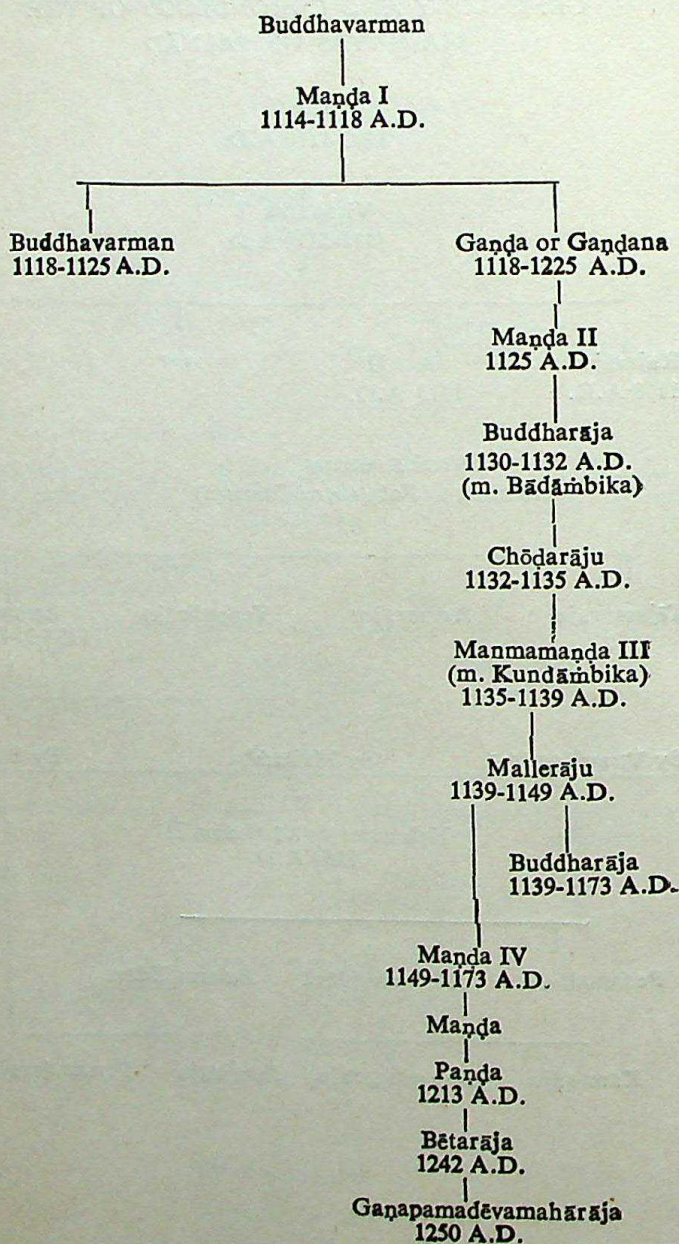


APPENDIX III

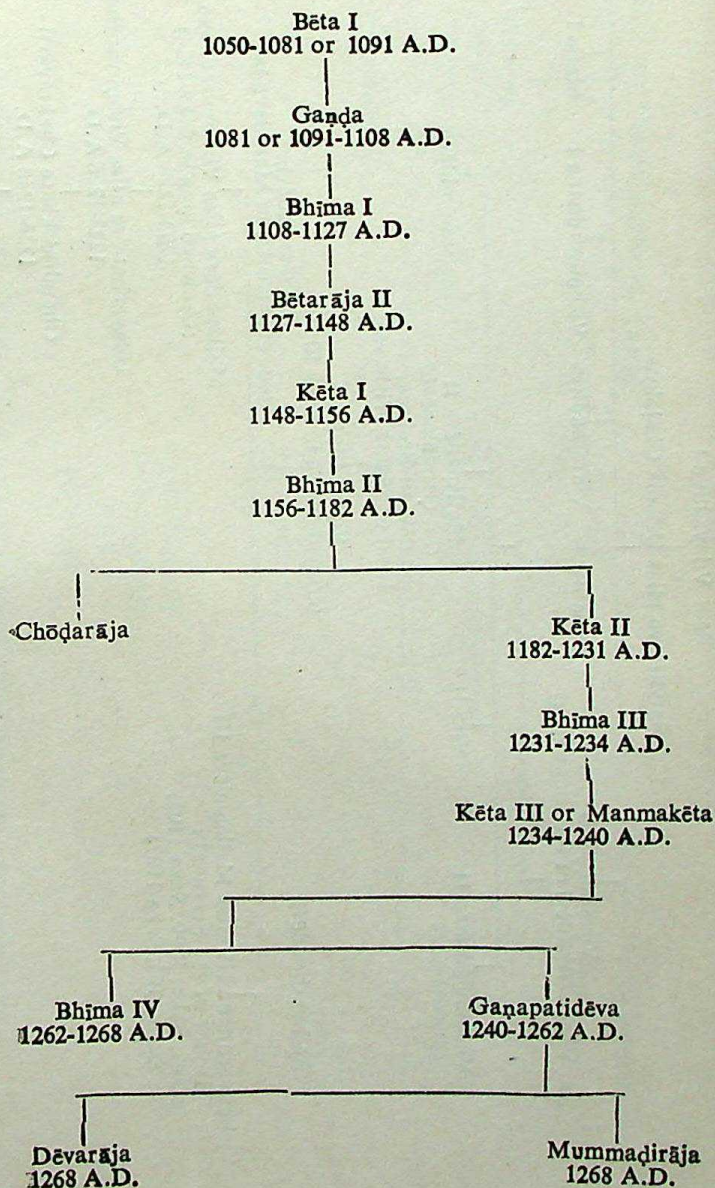
GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNĀḌ



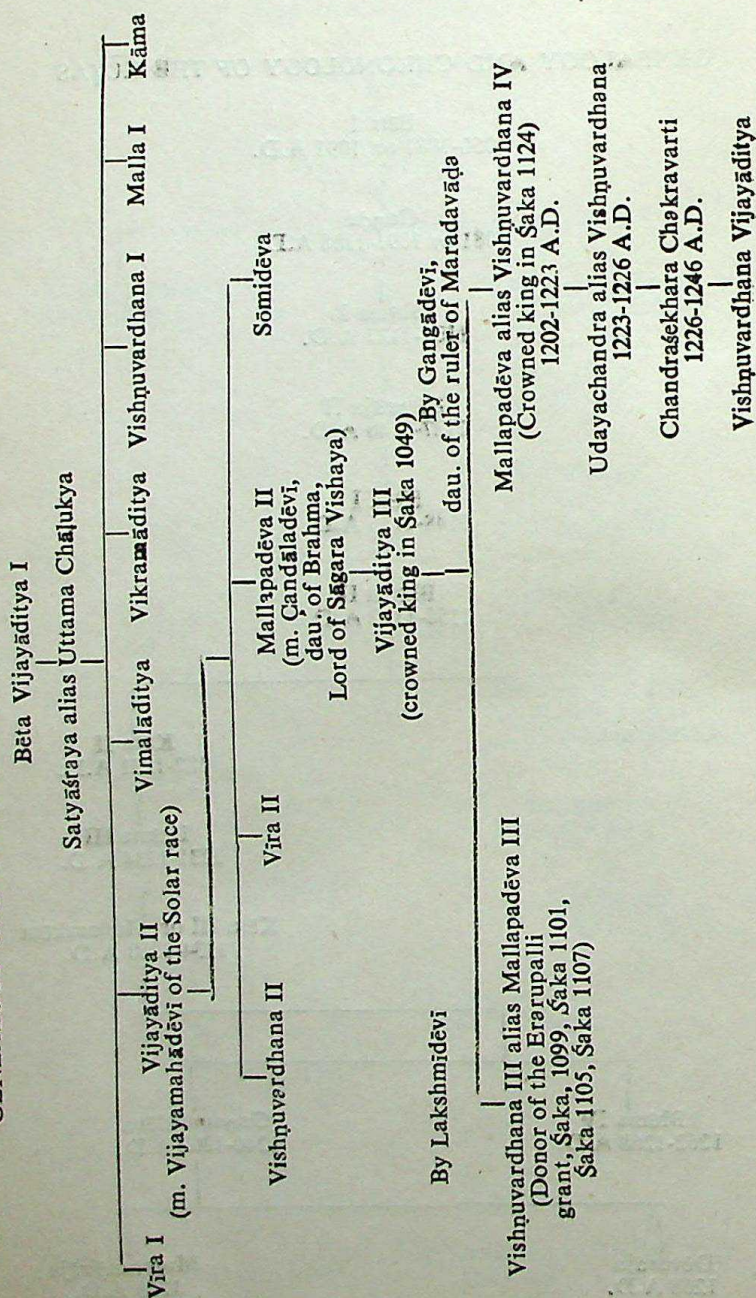
APPENDIX IV

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE
KONḌAPADUMATIS

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE KŌṬAS

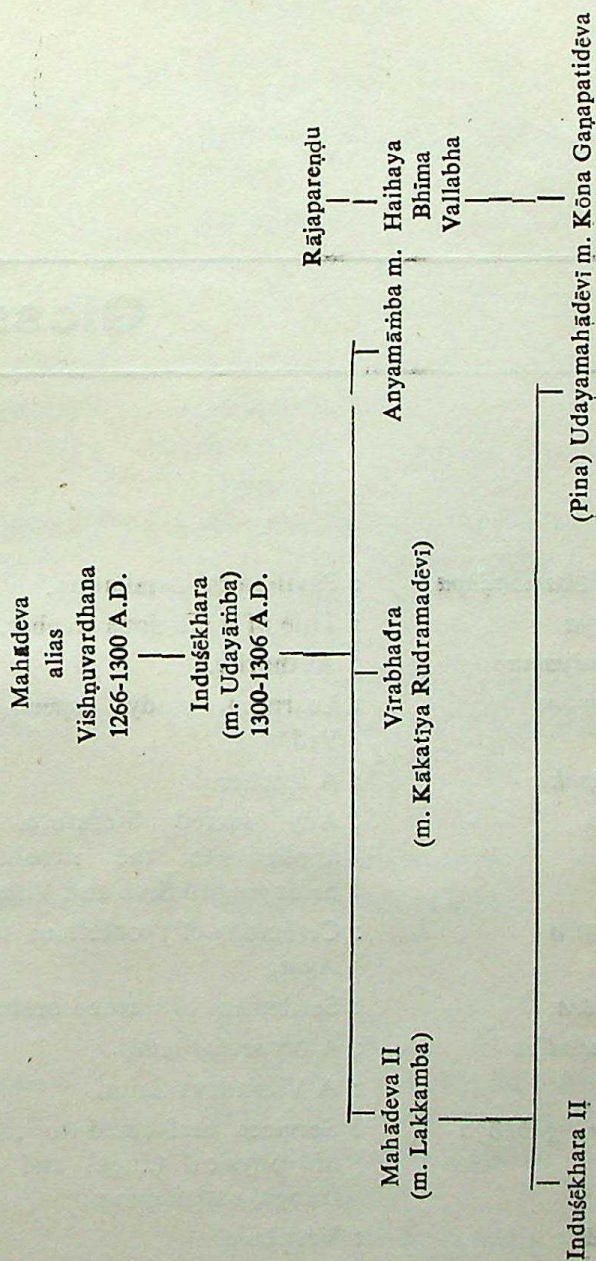


GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF PITHĀPUR



APPENDIX VII

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF NIDADAVALA



Glossary

A

- Abhishēkamaṇḍapa* : Pavilion of installation.
- Āchārya* : Title of a religious teacher.
- Ādhipatyamu* : Authority.
- Adhyayana* : Learning, study, especially of the Vedas.
- Adhyāpaka* : A teacher.
- Āgama* : Any sacred literature, generally applied to the ritualistic texts belonging to Siva and Vishnu.
- Agnihōtra* : Ceremony of ; oblation; worship of Agni.
- Agrahāra* : Settlement of learned brahmins.
- Akhaṇḍadīpa* : A perpetual lamp.
- Āḷvār* : A Vaishnava Saint.
- Aṅgarangabhōga* : Services performed to the lord for his physical (anga) and emotional (ranga) satisfaction .
- Antarāla* : Vestibule.
- Anulōma* : Relates to the type of marriage with a woman of inferior caste.

<i>Archana</i>	: Religious service.
<i>Āsana</i>	: A seat.
<i>Āsthānamaṇḍapa</i>	: Assembly hall.
<i>Aśvasāhiṇi</i>	: A military commander-in-charge of horses.
<i>Avatāra</i>	: Incarnation.

B

<i>Bhadragavākshas</i>	: Balconised windows.
<i>Bhadramaṇḍapas</i>	: Balconised halls.
<i>Bhakta</i>	: A devotee.
<i>Bhakti</i>	: Devotion.
<i>Bhaṇḍādhikāri</i>	: An officer-in-charge of the treasury.
<i>Bhaṭṭavritti</i>	: A grant for the maintenance of the learned brahmins.
<i>Bhēri</i>	: Kettle drum.
<i>Bhōga</i>	: Food offering given to the deity.
<i>Bhōgastreelu</i>	: Ladies for comfort of the God,

C

<i>Chinnālu</i>	: A unit of measurement.
<i>Citrakhaṇḍa</i> pillar	: Composite type of pillar.

D

<i>Dāna</i>	: Gift of charity.
<i>Daṇḍanāyaka</i>	: A general, a leader of forces, an army officer, a military commander.
<i>Dēśa</i>	: An administrative division.
<i>Dēvadāsi</i>	: Maids of Gods.
<i>Dharma</i>	: Moral and religious merit.
<i>Dharmaśāstra</i>	: Sacred law (Brahmanical)
<i>Dhūpa</i>	: Incense; any aromatic Vapour.

<i>Dhyāna</i>	: Contemplation.
<i>Digvijaya</i>	: Conquest of the world.
<i>Drāviḍaprabandha</i>	: The compendium of the sacred hymns composed by the Tamil Saints.

E

<i>Edureṇḍu</i>	: A type of reckoning employed in the records.
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G

<i>Gadya</i>	: A coin.
<i>Gajasāhiṇi</i>	: A military commander-in-charge of the elephants.
<i>Gajavyāla</i>	: A rampant lion on a couchant elephant.
<i>Garbhagriha</i>	: The inner sanctum.
<i>Ghaṭṭika</i>	: Small centre of learning and religion.
<i>Gōpura</i>	: Gateway.
<i>Gōira</i>	: A sect, usually of Brahmins.
<i>Gramanī</i>	: Head of the village.

J

<i>Jānutenugu</i>	: Graceful and comparatively more intelligible Telugu.
<i>Jinālaya</i>	: Jain temple.
<i>Jñāna</i>	: Realization of the atman

K

<i>Kaifiyat</i>	: A short descriptive account of a tract or a place.
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<i>Kalaśa</i>	: A vase, a water jar.
<i>Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa</i>	: A marriage hall.
<i>Kāvya</i>	: A poetical work.
<i>Koḍamangali</i>	: Barber.
<i>Kōmaṭi</i>	: A member of the trading community of Andhra.
<i>Kshatriya</i>	: Ruling caste, second in order of caste.
<i>Kshētra</i>	: A holy place.
<i>Kuṁcha</i>	: A measure.

L

<i>Lañjapendlāmu</i>	: Concubine.
<i>Linga</i>	: A cylindrical stone; iconographic form of Siva.

M

<i>Mahājanas</i>	: Brahmin residents of the entire village; all the members of the village assembly.
<i>Mahāsāmanta</i>	: The great chieftain.
<i>Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara</i>	: According to Lexicons a sovereign ruler who is the lord of 40 yojanas of land and a lakh of villages, a feudatory ruler or governor.
<i>Maṇḍala</i>	: A administrative unit.
<i>Māṇḍalika</i>	: A feudatory.
<i>Maṭha</i>	: A monastery.
<i>Mummaḍi Bhīma</i>	: Bhima III.

N

<i>Nāḍu</i>	: A territorial division equivalent to modern taluk of district.
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<i>Nāga</i>	: A serpent, a cobra.
<i>Nagara</i>	: A town.
<i>Nagarasyāmi</i>	: A head of a town.
<i>Nāgasthambha</i>	: A pillar or a post with the engraving of Nagas.
<i>Naivēdya</i>	: Offering to the Lord.
<i>Nakaramu</i>	: A mercantile assembly.
<i>Nartaki</i>	: Dancer.
<i>Nāṭya</i>	: Dance.
<i>Nirandhara</i>	: Structure without circumbulatory path around garbhagriha.
<i>Nītidaṇḍuvu</i>	: Legal penalty.
<i>Nityakriyas</i>	: Regular rituals.
<i>Niyama</i>	: Saivite followers.

O

<i>Ōju</i>	: A corruption of the Sanskrit work Upadhyaya.
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P

<i>Paḍigams</i>	: Sacred hymns.
<i>Palamu</i>	: Unit of measure.
<i>Paṇamu</i>	: Unit of coin.
<i>Pañchārāmas</i>	: The five aramas.
<i>Paṭṭana</i>	: A town.
<i>Perikes</i>	: Sacks used for selling merchandise.
<i>Paṭṭika</i>	: Top-most moulding of the adhisthana.
<i>Pradhāni</i>	: A minister.
<i>Prasāda</i>	: Food offered to the images.
<i>Prasasti</i>	: A pynergetic formula or description found in inscriptions.
<i>Pratilōma</i>	: Relates to the type of marriage.

<i>Pūja</i>	: Worship.
<i>Purāṇa</i>	: Sacred writings of the Hindus containing semi-historical genealogies and stories.
<i>Putṭi</i>	: An indigenous measure.
<i>Pūrvamīmāṃsa nyāyas</i>	: Principles of metaphysics.
<i>Perumballi</i>	: A shrine.

R

<i>Rāchamangali</i>	: Royal barber.
<i>Rāga</i>	: Symphony.
<i>Rājya</i>	: A kingdom.
<i>Ratha</i>	: A chariot.
<i>Rathakāras</i>	: Artisans, builders.
<i>Rūka</i>	: A coin.

S

<i>Śaiva</i>	: A religious sect with Siva as the central deity.
<i>Śaka</i>	: A calender reckoning starting from 78 A.D.
<i>Samādhi</i>	: Absorption; connected with the practice of yoga.
<i>Samaya</i>	: An agreement, a compact, an engagement, also a convention of a guild.
<i>Samaya Kārya</i>	: Making an agreement.
<i>Sandhara</i>	: Structure with circumambulatory path around garbha griha.
<i>Sāni</i>	: A dancing girl attached to a temple.
<i>Santa</i>	: A fair.
<i>Saptamātrikas</i>	: Seven mother goddesses.
<i>Śāstra</i>	: A discipline; a branch of knowledge.

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<i>Śāstraic</i>	: Scriptual.
<i>Śataka</i>	: A collection of one hundred stanzas.
<i>Sēnāpati</i>	: A military officer.
<i>Seṭṭi</i>	: A trader.
<i>Shaṭkarmas</i>	: Six rituals.
<i>Śikhara</i>	: Little spire above the structure.
<i>Smṛiti</i>	: Code.
<i>Sthala</i>	: A place, a locality.
<i>Sthānāpati</i>	: A superintendent.
<i>Stōtra</i>	: A pynergic.
<i>Śūdra</i>	: A member of the fourth caste.
<i>Sumka</i>	: A tax.
<i>Sumkakaraṇas</i>	: Accountants in-charge of revenue collection.
<i>Sūtras</i>	: Orders.

T

<i>Talāri</i>	: Police officer.
<i>Tanka</i>	: A coin.
<i>Tīrtha</i>	: Sacred water, also used for a sacred place or festive gathering congregated at a sacred place.
<i>Tiruvīdhi</i>	: A function at the temple which involves taking the image of a deity in procession with due ceremony.
<i>Tiruvārādhana</i>	: The sacred ritual.
<i>Tiruvāyimōyi</i>	: Religious book of songs.
<i>Tōraṇa</i>	: Arch installed in front of a temple.

U

<i>Utsava</i>	: A festival.
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V

<i>Vādi</i>	: An administrative unit.
<i>Vāhana</i>	: A vehicle.
<i>Vaiśya</i>	: Trading caste, third in order of caste.
<i>Valanāḍu</i>	: An administrative unit.
<i>Varṇāśramadharmā</i>	: Caste system.
<i>Vasadi</i>	: A Jain temple.
<i>Vētrapāṇi</i>	: A dance master.
<i>Vishaya</i>	: A territorial division equivalent to our present day district.
<i>Vritti</i>	: A share in the consecrated food, same as nibandhana.
<i>Vyāpāri</i>	: A trader.

Y

<i>Yama</i>	: Any great moral observance.
<i>Yuvarāja</i>	: Heir-apparent.

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